



HAWAIIANS:

Organizing Our People

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Table of Contents

1	<i>THE NEED TO ORGANIZE</i>
3	<i>ASPECTS OF ORGANIZING</i>
5	<i>HISTORICAL ROOTS</i>
15	<i>HISTORY OF HAWAIIANS ORGANIZING</i>
19	<i>THE HAWAIIANS</i>
27	<i>CONGRESS OF THE HAWAIIAN PEOPLE</i>
33	<i>A.L.O.H.A.</i>
41	<i>HOMERULE MOVEMENT</i>
47	<i>HUI MALAMA AINA 'O KO'OLAU</i>
55	<i>HAWAIIAN COALITION</i>
57	<i>CENSUS TRACT 57 PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT</i>
63	<i>LEGISLATIVE COALITION</i>
69	<i>CONCLUSIONS</i>

HAWAIIANS:

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*a pamphlet produced by students
of ES221 — The Hawaiians*

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Acknowledgements

This is the first effort to develop one source of information on the organizing efforts of Hawaiians to date. We felt that it was important to gather this data, put it together in a comprehensive and systematic fashion and make it available to interested people and students. Hopefully this pamphlet will provide a perspective on the Hawaiian Movement at present.

This pamphlet is the end-product of one year's research on behalf of the Fall, 1973 and the Spring, 1974 students in. The Hawaiians course (E.S.221) of the Ethnic Studies Program at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. The Fall, 1973 students produced an introductory pamphlet called "Hawaiians Move to Organize." The pamphlet covered only the Hawaiian Civic Clubs, Hui Malama Aina O Koolau, A.L.O.H.A., The Congress of Hawaiian People and The Homerule Movement. The Spring, 1974 students have expanded the work of the Fall by including The Hawaiians, Legislative Coalition and C.T. 57 People's Movement. They have also provided additional information on the other organizations and revised the format to be more consistent. In addition there are new sections on The Need To Organize, Aspects of Organizing, Historical Roots of present day conditions, a History of Hawaiians Organizing and a conclusion.

While every effort was made to make this pamphlet as up-to-date as possible, it should be kept in mind that the organizations are relatively new and are still going through a process of growth and change.

The research, interviews and compilation of materials for the pamphlet was done by the students in the projects. The pamphlet is intended to be used for educational purposes and is not for commercial distribution. The program will be responsible for reproduction of the pamphlet.

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The Need to Organize

Most of Hawaii's people face a multitude of problems, the most major of which involve the lack of sufficient resources to meet their basic needs. This involves such conditions as the high cost of housing, the scarcity of land, the lack of jobs, and the high cost of living.

These conditions are an outgrowth of the profit-oriented capitalist system we live under, where the major wealth of the economy is controlled by and reaches only a few powerful elite. What is becoming very evident from past experiences is that the organized collective force of many thousands of people has been the only force effective in dealing with capitalism and its various manifestations.

This collective force has taken on a variety of forms in the past and the present. There have been community organizations fighting against eviction and for control over their neighborhood. There have been labor unions fighting for decent wages in a time of spiraling costs of living, and there have been ethnic organizations fighting against racism and for civil rights.

All of these various forms of struggle for social change are a recognition of the fact that "people power" is the only effective weapon to confront the monopoly of economic wealth and the power of unresponsive politicians.

In looking at Hawaii, we should look at contemporary organizing within the context of the labor movement, both locally and

nationally and the nation's Civil Rights Movement. These movements have had a significant effect on contemporary organizing in Hawaii. Labor organizing began in Hawaii before World War II and reached success in the years following World War II. Its success was proof to working people that an organized, disciplined, and democratic organization was the only way to counter the power and influence of the bosses.

The Civil Rights Movement focused attention on the way in which the system treated black people in America. That same experience applied with less intensity to the experience of all minority ethnic groups in America as well, and had a special significance in Hawaii where there are a number of non-white ethnic groups. The Civil Rights Movement focused attention at the way in which racism had been a force by which non-white ethnic groups were kept in subordinate levels of the work force and the social structure. It pointed out the need for ethnic minorities to organize and to struggle against discrimination. Certain aspects of these broad-range problems apply to the conditions in Hawaii and the people in Hawaii have the same or a greater potential for success.

This is a pamphlet about the Hawaiians' move to become more self-reliant and self-determining. That activist Hawaiian organizations have formed and continue to operate gives testimony to the reality that certain

basic needs of the people are not being met, as they should be.

In this pamphlet, we are attempting first, to document some of the needs around which Hawaiian people are organizing and secondly, to evaluate and record lessons that can be learned from their experience.

Although the conditions in Hawaii affect all ethnic groups, the Hawaiians are one of the few groups to have organized along lines of ethnicity for political action.

Here are some statistics which may illustrate the need that Hawaiians see for organizing. In the early 1960's the following was reported:

There were 8,000 Hawaiians and 120,000

part-Hawaiians in Hawaii, comprising 18.8 percent of the total population.

Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians accounted for 35 to 40 percent of the financially destitute families receiving community assistance.

57 percent of all male inmates and 48 percent of all female inmates of the Youth Correctional Facility of the state were Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian, while only 21 percent of youths in the state were Hawaiian.

42 percent of the adult inmates of the State Correctional Facilities were of Hawaiian ancestry.

This pamphlet discusses further the needs that Hawaiians define in their organizing activities.



Aspects of Organizing

Before going out and seeking information about the Hawaiian and community organizations in this pamphlet, we, as a group, discussed the various aspects of organizing which should be consistently developed for a group to succeed in its work.

Having discussed these aspects with people who have been involved in organizing and having read articles which describe the work of organizations, we developed a list of important areas to cover in our research and to include in our report.

By providing information on each organization, with regard to the important aspects of organizing, we hope to provide a basis by which comparisons can be made among the organizations. This will hopefully serve as a guideline for a more critical analysis and examination of the overall work of the organizations.

The following is what we have identified as the major aspects of organizing:

1. HISTORY the introduction to each organization provides background information to the reasons for its formation and major developments since then.

2. PURPOSE a discussion of the major short-range and long-range goals and objectives of the organization, the scope of the organization's concerns, and the definition of the problems that the organization deals with.

3. MEMBERSHIP, LEADERSHIP, AND DECISION-MAKING—discussion of the accountability of leadership to membership, how leadership in the organization is developed, the basic organizational structure, the interaction between membership and leadership in decision-making, how decisions are implemented, how communication within the membership is maintained, the class background of the membership, and how broad the base of the organization is.

4. PROGRAMS OF ACTION—discussion of the major concerns and issues of the organization, work of the organization, the public relations of the organization, and the strategies and tactics used by the organization to influence changes.

5. ALLIANCES—discussion of the major bases of support outside of the organization, including Hawaiian organizations, community organizations, government officials, and other individuals or groups.

6. OPPOSITION—discussion of how the organization identifies and describes the forces and people against which they are working—those who oppose them in their work.

7. PROBLEMS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS—the summary includes a discussion of the major problems organizations have encountered in their work, the major accomplishments of the organization, and what they foresee for the future.

Historical Roots

The following is a chronology of the major historical events which are significant in understanding the development of present-day conditions in Hawaii.

- Pre-contact—Communal society, subsistence economy, communal organization of labor and land. Taro was the staple food. Taro agriculture was the centralizing economic activity. Religion was organized under the Kapu System.
- 1778— English Captain James Cook makes discovery of the Hawaiian islands, while searching for the North West Passage for traders. Population of the Hawaiians was about 300,000. Venereal disease introduced.
- 1782— Kalaniopuu dies and Kamehameha begins his rise to power, aided by haole advisors, Young and Davis and their western war strategy and weapons.
- 1788— Trading ships begin their regular resting and replenishing stops in Hawaii.
- 1790— Small amounts of sandalwood is exported, however it was not until 1811 that sandalwood was exploited. By 1829, the sandalwood trade was nearly at an end.
- 1791— After fur traders completed their season's operations in collecting skins on the West Coast of North America, they sailed for China, stopping at Hawaii for fresh supplies and sometimes spending the winter months.
- 1797— "Mamalahoe Kanawai" or "Law of the Splintered Paddle" was designed by King Kamehameha I to protect the innocent and helpless from wanton attacks.
- 1810— Kaumualii, King of Kauai finally surrenders and acknowledges Kamehameha as suzerain thereby, making Kamehameha supreme ruler. He reapportioned the land districts among the chiefs who had helped him rise to power.
- 1811 to 1825— The Sandalwood Trade reached its peak. The debts of the chiefs were passed on to the common people as taxes. The labor of the common people is exploited for the riches of trade.
- 1819— After long illness King Kamehameha the Great dies, at Kailua, Hawaii. Lunalilo becomes Kamehameha II with Kaahumanu as Kuhina Nui. Abolishment for many of the kapu laws and religious practices.
- 1820— American missionaries arrive. Whaling boats, most of them from New England, had begun to arrive in search of new whaling grounds.



6 / HISTORICAL ROOTS

Hawaii was an obvious anchorage for supplies. The period 1843-1860, may be compared to a high plateau region in which appeared these great peaks (1846, 1853, 1859).

Population of Hawaiians was 125,000.

- 1822— First Hawaiian Printing done in Hawaiian language. Two liquor distilleries set up operation from fermented sugar-cane juice, potatoes, or ti root.
- 1824— King Kamehameha II and Queen Kamamalu die in England of measles, before meeting with King George IV.
- 1832— Kuhina Nui, Kaahumanu dies. It is said next to Kamehameha I, she was the most imposing figure among the native rulers of Hawaii.
- 1835— First sugar plantation successfully established at Koloa, Kauai with Hawaiians as laborers.
- 1840— The Constitution of 1840 was mainly declaratory or descriptive of the existing political institutions of Hawaii. It contained some innovations, among which gave the common people the right to select a "representative body" as part of the national legislature.
- 1848— "The Great Mahele" instituted the concept and system of private land ownership in Hawaii and divided the lands between the king—23.8%, chiefs—39.2%, government—36.2%, and the common people—8%. For the first time, land could be bought and sold. Land became a commodity. Amfac began as a wholesale trade goods business by a young sea captain and trader named Heinrich Hackfield. Gold was discovered in California, thousands of goldseekers came to the West Coast from other parts of the mainland. Of course the goldminers had to eat. As a result, the demand for Hawaiian agricultural produce, vegetables, staples and meats skyrocketed in the early 1850's.
- 1850— Plantation labor shortage had become an acute problem. "The Master's and Servants Act" was passed to provide legal basis for the contract labor system. Foreigners allowed to purchase Hawaiian land.
- 1851— Castle & Cooke, Inc. begins business in Hawaii as a general merchandise store. It was organized as a partnership by Samuel Northrup Castle and Amos Cooke, two lay members of a missionary group that came to Hawaii from Boston in 1837.
- 1852— First Chinese coolies arrive in Hawaii. Constitutional changes restricted suffrage to males with residency and literacy requirements.
- 1853— Hawaiian population—70,000.
- 1854— Attempts to annex with the U.S. fails. King Kamehameha IV dies.
- 1855— Reciprocity Treat with U.S. fails in U.S. Senate.
- 1859— Development of petroleum which leads to the decline of whaling industry and the use of whale oil.
- 1860— American Civil War begins. Southern States stop shipping sugar to the North and cut off supplies from the West Indies. Northern cities need sugar and turn to Hawaii. Rise in the price of sugar makes it profitable to raise sugar. The development of sugar plantations is financed by the merchant

- "factors" who had established themselves and accumulated their capital from the whaling trade profits.
- 1864- Revision of Hawaii's Constitution, included property requirements for suffrage.
- 1865- Bureau of Immigration formed. End of Civil War which brings lower sugar prices. The tariff on sugar resumes.
- 1867- Reciprocity Treaty with U.S. again fails in Congress.
- 1868- First Japanese workers arrive.
- 1870- Adverse Possession Law enacted. Many Hawaiians lost land through this law.
- 1872- 32 sugar plantations in Hawaii, three-quarters of which were owned by Americans. Total population of Hawaiians declines to 56,897. King Kamehameha V, last of the Kamehamehas, dies.
- 1875- Reciprocity Treaty signed by Kalakaua for 7 years with U.S. Treaty made Hawaii an economic colony of the U.S.
- 1876- Reciprocity Treaty goes into effect and now allows Hawaiian sugar to be sold in U.S. without tariffs.
- 1878- Portuguese workers arrive.
- 1884- Formation of the Hawaiian Rifles, the military arm of the Hawaiian League, comprised of merchants, plantation owners, ex-missionaries, factor owners and traders. Formation of Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate.
- 1885- First Pineapple plantation.
- 1887- Bayonet Constitution forced upon Kalakaua which establishes a limited monarchy. Lunalilo Home founded. Kamehameha School established
- by Princess Pauahi Bishop. New Reciprocity Treaty with U.S. cedes Pearl Harbor to the U.S.
- 1891- McKinley Tariff passed which imposes high tariffs on Hawaiian goods, including sugar into the U.S. Sugar prices fall drastically. Small plantations go out of business, leaving only the big plantations. Kalakaua dies and Liliuokalani becomes Queen.
- 1893- Liliuokalani plans to revoke the Bayonet Constitution but fails. Revolution led by the sugar planters succeeds in overthrowing the monarchy and planters set up a provisional government on January 17. Annexation treaty fails to gain approval in the U.S. Senate.
- 1894- Constitution written and proclaimed Hawaii a Republic with Sanford B. Dole as President.
- 1895- Counter-revolution staged but fails.
- 1897- Bank of Hawaii, Ltd. opens.
- 1898- U.S. annexes Hawaii.
- 1900- Organic Act passed which establishes a territorial form of government in Hawaii by the U.S. Congress. The governor would be appointed by the President of the U.S. Puerto Ricans imported to work the plantations. The Big Five was consolidated and in control of economy, government, society.
- 1901- First Territorial Legislature convened.
- 1902- Order of Kamehameha formed with object of preserving and perpetuating the ancient customs and traditions of Hawaii.

- 1903- Torrens Land System goes into effect. Requires an expensive process of registering land through Court.
- 1906- Filipino workers arrive.
- 1909- Pineapple Growers Association formed. Half of private lands owned by haole corporations; one-sixth owned by haole individuals; one-sixth owned by haole directors of the Bishop Estate; and one-sixth owned by Hawaiians, part-Hawaiians and Asians.
- 1913- With the invention of the time-money saving, ginca machine to peel and core the pineapple for canning, pineapple becomes a major agricultural industry.
- 1915- Sugar constitutes 90% of Hawaii's agriculture products; 20% of the population is on plantation pay-rolls.
- 1918- Hawaiian Civic Club formed by Price Jonah Kuhio.
- 1920- Hawaiian Homes Act passed which set aside public lands at \$1.00 per year on a long term lease for persons with at least one-half Hawaiian blood. Pure Hawaiian population decreased from 70,000 in 1853 to 24,000 in 1920.
- 1922- Hawaiian Pineapple buys the island of Lanai.
- 1924- Bloodiest plantation strike. National Guard called in. Filipino workers under the leadership of Pablo Manlapit struck, involving 23 of the 45 plantations in the territory.
- 1930- Honolulu population rose 250% from 1900. Greater urbanization in Hawaii. Six-sevenths of population in Hawaii are immigrants or descendants of non-Hawaiian immigrants
- to the Islands. Land utilization basically sugar and pineapple. Filipinos are largest ethnic population in sugar industry labor. American and European firms and individuals paid 70% of entire real estate tax of Hawaii, indication of who controls the land in Hawaii. Trade contact stabilized to certain countries. U.S. dominated Hawaii trade scene—89% of Hawaiian import and 98% of its export values were with the U.S.
- 1931- Mrs. Massie, daughter of an heiress and wife of a naval officer, accused a local man, Joseph Kaha-hawai of raping her. Massie case triggers racist feelings to dominate Hawaii's political and judicial structures. Ramifications also felt in the mainland and by federal government's political structure. And as in the Fukunaga case, the Massie case illustrates the existence of double standards of justice; one for haoles and another for non-haoles.
- 1932- Sugar industry employment reached all-time high to date—54,992.
- 1935- Pan Am Clipper flies first commercial flight across Pacific from San Francisco to Honolulu. Hawaii Housing Authority (HHA) established by U.S. Legislature to engage in slum clearance and housing projects for low income persons. Five members appointed as commissioners.
- 1938- Hilo "Massacre" Early strike of the Longshoremen in which 36 strikers were wounded.
- 1939- 42% of total civilian population employed in sugar and pineapple industries.
- 1940- First contract (CIO) covering a

plantation (McBryde Sugar Mill on Kauai) was signed—first time a union won a contract with the employers.

- 1941: WWII: Marshall Law declared in Hawaii.
1941-45 military employment primary source of income for Hawaii.
Defense expenditure of \$800 million.
Civilian employees of the military services equal about half about half of total civilian labor force.
Wage-job freeze.
Plantation and sugar mill owners utilize the military to crush unions.
First written contract in Hawaii's longshore history signed with ILWU.
Sears & Roebuck decides to build a store in Hawaii despite opposition from the "Big Five" in Hawaii.
- 1944— With the relaxation of control over labor organization by the military, organization of the plantation workers resumed.
Jack Hall became the ILWU's international representative in Hawaii.
With 22 out of 29 endorsed union candidates elected to the Territorial Legislature, "Little Wagner Act" was passed covering agricultural workers.
- 1945— Demobilization of military.
Japanese, Filipino, Chinese, Hawaiian, Portuguese, Puerto Rican, Haole workers were united in the ILWU.
First territorial-wide ILWU conference held.
- 1946— ILWU won sugar strike lasting 79 days.
- 1949— High unemployment rate, 1 out of

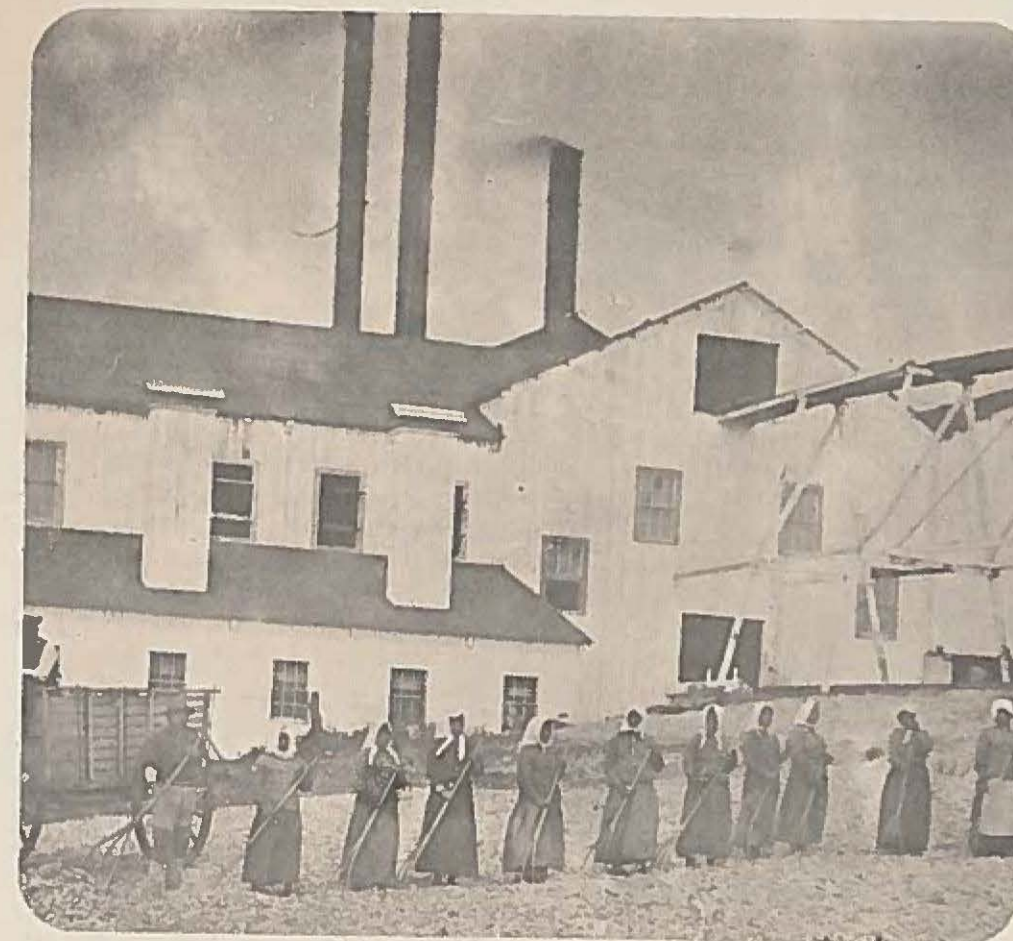
five persons unemployed.
Waterfront strike lasted 177 days.
Defense expenditure dropped to \$147 million.

- 1950— Korean War and re-establishment of military forces.
Hawaii suffered more military casualties per capita than any state in the union.
Constitutional Convention held to draw up State Constitution for Hawaii.
- 1952— First TV station in Hawaii begins operation.
- 1954— Democratic Party with the support of the labor unions captures solid majority in both houses of legislature—31 of 35 seats.
- 1955— Level of unemployment lower than national average.
- 1957— Telephone cable completed from California to Honolulu.
- 1958— Sugar strike.
- 1959— Statehood August 21.
William F. Quinn elected first governor, served until 1962.
- 1961— Castle & Cook gain full ownership of Dole and Bumblebee Seafoods.
State Land Use Commission established.
Law passed to provide for individual ownership of a single unit within a multiunit structure—condominiums. Also, most condominiums classed as "luxury high rise."
- 1962— John A. Burns elected governor.
First Democratic Party governor, served until 1974.
- 1964— H-3 approved.
- 1965— Economy picked up—sugar production and construction reached all-time high.
Population increased due to immigration.

- 1966— Haoles largest ethnic group.
25th Army Division and the 1st Marine Brigade shipped to Vietnam.
Hawaii became most popular rest and recreation center in the Pacific.
Ala Moana Center completed.
Matson pioneer in containerization.
- 1967— A four lane H-4 proposed by State which would tunnel under Honolulu Harbor, skirt makai of Sand Island and tie in with the H-1 freeway and access to the

airport. Would cost minimum of \$50 million.
So far 58,707 persons applied for HHA housing, only 20,242 persons live in State sponsored housing.

- 1968— Revised state constitution.
Construction showed most dramatic growth of all of Hawaii's industries.
- 1969— Sugar strike.
- 1970 to 1974— CHARACTERIZED BY:
Big effort to push diversified agri-



culture to counteract the phasing out of sugar and pineapple. Rise of tourism. rise of social consciousness of ethnic groups (particularly Hawaiians)—Ethnic groups take active role in the community; politics (passage of laws in various areas including crime, abortion, housing, discrimination, pollution). Even with the rise of the construction industry, housing shortage exists, and real estate value inflates. Investments by major mainland firms (i.e. insurance companies, Boise-Cascade) and by foreign countries (i.e. Japan) pour into Hawaii. Hawaii's strategic position increases this state's interaction in world affairs (i.e. trade, warfare, satellite communication, outer and inner space explorations, scientific research, politics, transportation by air and sea).

SUMMARY

Hawaii's economic situation has had a drastic change since the 1778 arrival of Captain James Cook until today in 1974. In nearly 200 years, Hawaii changed from a communal and subsistence form of economy and society to a modern economy which is almost entirely dependent on the flow of goods and capital from the outside.

Change began when early traders used Hawaii as a supply port and later for the supply of sandalwood in their trade with China. When the whaling industry was at its peak, the Pacific center of the whaling trade industry was Hawaii. When whaling declined, then sugar and pineapple industries developed in its place. Then from World War II on, Hawaii's major source of income was from the military, as America extended its influence into Asia. Recently the tourist

industry has boomed in Hawaii. Today the major source of income is from the tourist, military, sugar and pineapple industries. Changes in governance began with the rise of Kamehameha to power with the aid of Western weapons and ships of war. The monarchy established by Kamehameha lasted for 83 years until it was overthrown in 1893 in a revolution led by sugar planters who were aided by a U.S. naval ship. In 1898 Hawaii was annexed as a territory by the United States and in 1959 it became a state. Each change in government led to the control being transferred from the Hawaiian commoners and chiefs to the rising merchants, industrial and business interests who were predominantly American.

Hawaii's early political structure was predominantly controlled and influenced by an elite group of haole businessmen who were in charge of the "Big Five" corporations in Hawaii—Amfac, Theo H. Davies, C. Brewer, Castle & Cooke, and Alexander and Baldwin. They maintained a monopoly over local sugar plantations, pineapple companies, shipping, merchandising, utilities and banking systems.

For government measures in support of industry, these men contributed millions of dollars to help finance campaigns, strictly for Republican candidates who introduced and supported the legal basis for the importation of immigrants, contract laborers and anti-union measures.

Each of the changes in the economy and government were followed by changes in the culture and social structure of Hawaii. Through the influence of the early traders and sandalwood traders, a new lifestyle was introduced. The western material and social culture influenced changes in the Hawaiian culture which ultimately led to the abolishment of the Kapu System. The American missionaries caused greater changes in Hawaiian culture, government, society and economy through the imposition of their religion, their values and their lifestyle on

what they looked upon as the "ignorant, heathen and savage" Hawaiians.

The need of the sugar industry led to the importation of immigrant labor from China, Japan, Portugal, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, which changed the ethnic composition of Hawaii. They were brought in as contract laborers and many remained in Hawaii and made it their home when their contracts were over.

The needs of industry has also dictated the changes in the use of land. There was no private property ownership in Hawaii, until the Great Mahele which divided the land between the government, the king, the chiefs and the people and instituted a system of private ownership and exclusive use of the land. With the Mahele and subsequent land registration and title claims laws, Hawaiians were alienated from the land, while the foreign businessmen, who were well acquainted with the private property system and laws acquired control over large tracts of land in Hawaii. They maintain this control up until today. About 48.5% of the land is controlled by the state and federal government. Another 45.2% of the land is owner by 39 major landowners and 6.3% of the land is owned by small private land owners (less than 5,000 acres).

In recent years the trend has been to take land out of agriculture and low-cost housing development, causing the dislocation of many residents. The cost of homes has now gone so high that in 1970, 80% of the state's population were priced out of the housing market. Because of the monopoly of land ownership, development and land use continues to rest within the hands of the few in power.

Now is the time for people to react. People are beginning to organize and to work together to deal with the system which has alienated them from the land and which continues to control their lives, for the benefit of those in power. Now is the time for PEOPLE POWER!



History of Hawaiians Organizing



We traced the history of social activism of the Hawaiians back to the 1900's, when Hawaii first became a territory. The first political movement was the Homerule Movement which was organized by John Wilcox. It was the Hawaiian political party which maintained the control of the Territorial Legislature for a short period of time;

In 1917, the well-known Hawaiian Civic Club was founded by Prince Jonah Kuhio. The clubs are still in existence today, however, they take a low-profile on political issues. Up until shortly after WWII, each of the Civic Clubs were independent of each other and individual chapters got involved in politics. After the war, the various civic club chapters organized into one, under Regional Councils and a State Association. Since then, the Clubs do not take political stands. Their emphasis is on cultural and social activities, and on the raising of funds to provide educational scholarships to worthy Hawaiians. What follows in an account of the past activism of some of the Hawaiian Civic Club chapters.

In the early days, the issues and actions of various clubs focused on the welfare of the citizens of Hawaiian blood. They got more involved in politics. In 1919, two of the leaders of the club, Prince Jonah Kuhio and John Wise were very influential in the passage of the Rehabilitation Act for Hawaiians, which resulted in the eventual passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act in 1920. The purpose of the Act was to return the Hawaiians to the land. It was pushed by some of the Hawaiian Civic Clubs and others of the Hawaiian community as a way to improve the living conditions of the Hawaiians who were living in substandard houses in the urban tenements.

In the Thirties, some Hawaiian Civic Clubs lobbied in Washington against legislation which would restrict the rights and privileges of the residents of Hawaii which

had been introduced as a reaction to the Massie Case in Hawaii. Members of the Club also worked closely in the establishment of the Hawaii Housing Authority office in 1935.

During the Forties, some Hawaiian Civic Clubs made a stand against martial law in Hawaii. They also worked for amendments to the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act to create a special fund for educational purposes. The amendment also proposed that the Commission discontinue the eviction suits that they were filing against homesteaders and to re-negotiate the expired leases. The Civic Clubs also took a stand when the Molokai Water Plan was proposed, so that the primary use of the irrigation water would go to homestead land rather than to plantation land. They also organized a poi co-operative when a serious poi shortage developed. They supported a fishing industry bill which would conserve the fishing resources and investigate and develop fishing resources of areas adjacent to Hawaii.

The major issue facing the clubs in the Fifties was Statehood. In a controversy over the misallocation of ranch land in Waimea, the Civic Clubs raised the issue to the public; the original plan was withdrawn and the land was turned over to Hawaiian Homesteaders.

During the Sixties, the political activity of the Hawaiian Civic Clubs ceased.

Aside from the Hawaiian Civic Clubs, no reference could be found to any other Hawaiian organizations that were politically active. Our major source of information was the two daily newspapers. Perhaps there are references in other sources that have yet to be found.

There is a record of Hawaiians organizing labor unions and striking against management. Hawaiian longshoremen, machinists, garbage collectors, construction workers, truck drivers and telephone workers went on strike from 1900 to 1920. After 1920, there was the interracial labor union

organization by the ILWU. The union had its start on the Hilo waterfront. Hawaiians played a key role in the organizing, because they comprised the largest proportion of longshore workers. Two of the first organizers were Hawaiian: Harry Kamoku and Levi Kealoha. In general, Hawaiians also became involved in labor organizing in other industries where they were employed. Their participation in union activities and organization continues up until today.

In the past few years, since 1907, there has been a resurgence of political activity on the part of the Hawaiians which has led to the formation of a number of Hawaiian organizations. It is these recently-formed, politically-active organizations that are discussed in this pamphlet. They are: The Hawaiians (1970); The Congress of Hawaiian People (1971); Hui Malama Aina 'O Ko'olau (1972); A.L.O.H.A. (1972); and Homerule Movement (1973). In addition, we have included two community organizations which have a number of Hawaiians involved, for purposes of comparison: The Legislative Coalition (1972) and Census Tract 57 People's Movement (1972).

The development of Hawaiian organizations covered in our pamphlet was concurrent with the development of a number of community struggles. These struggles were in communities such as Waimanalo, Chinatown, Niumaki, Ota Camp, and Coconut Grove. One community struggle played a particularly important role in the development of social activism and self-determination among the Hawaiians and local people in general. That was the Kalama Valley struggle of 1970.

In Kalama, the Bishop Estate, Hawaii's largest single private landowner, planned to evict pig farmers, Hawaiians, and other local people to make way for high-priced home developments. A number of young people became involved in fighting the eviction, to the point where they were

arrested on trespassing charges. They organized themselves into an organization which they called Kokua Kalama. Today, the valley is a high-priced residential neighborhood.

In the course of the struggle, a number of key questions and issues were brought to the attention of the public. Discussion of many of these issues had previously been kapu in the Hawaiian community, such as: what is the role and function of the Bishop Estate? Who Controlled Bishop Estate? And whose interests had the estate really served? Kalama Valley brought into focus a central contradiction with regard to the way it operates. The Bishop Estate was evicting Hawaiians in order to make money which supposedly would go toward the education of Hawaiians at the Kamehameha Schools. Kalama was not the first area where Bishop Estate had evicted Hawaiians, and as the future has shown, it was not the last. The trustees make thousands of dollars on commissions for land deals, while many worthy, young Hawaiian children are rejected from the Kamehameha Schools because there is not enough room. In addition, tuition at the schools has been increased.

The Kalama Valley struggle also involved the issues of housing and land control throughout the state. The Kalama Valley issue was one example of what was happening to residents throughout the state where agricultural land was being rezoned for urban use; small farmers were being forced out of business; the housing crisis was developing to where there was a decrease in the number of available homes that people could afford; legislative, planning and zoning bodies were carrying out the wishes of the monopoly landowners and were unresponsive to the people they claimed to represent. Kalama Valley stimulated many people to begin questioning and investigating the actions of big business and government.

While the Kalama struggle was waged, The Hawaiians came together in Waimanalo to protest inefficiency, inadequacy and mismanagement within the Hawaiian Homes Commission. Soon after that, in June, 1971, upon the death of Bishop Estate trustee Herbert Keppler and the appointment of Matsuo Takabuki in his place, the Ad Hoc Committee for a Hawaiian Trustee formed, out of which the Congress of the Hawaiian People later developed.

The general increase of political activity in the Hawaiian community gave rise to two other Hawaiian organizations—Homerule, whose main concern was the legislative and electoral politics; and A.L.O.H.A. (Aboriginal Lands of Hawaiian Ancestry), whose major areas of concern is reparations.

The economic changes of the seventies led to more developments, increased urbanization, and an increase in the number of

families requiring the aid of social services. On the other hand, the State debt increased. This led to cut-backs in the social services. Three other organizations which came into existence in reaction to these problems were Hui Malama Aina 'O Ko'olau, C.T. 57 People's Movement and the Legislative Coalition. The Hui formed to protect kuleana land-owners from the destructive forces of urbanization. The Census Tract 57 People's Movement was organized to fight the eviction that was coming to make way for the expansion of the Honolulu Community College.

The rise of these organizations represents a qualitative change in the Hawaiian community. Where Hawaiians formerly reacted sporadically to specific incidents and issues, they have recently begun to organize ongoing, full-time organizations in the past four years to take positive steps toward meeting the needs of the Hawaiians.

The Hawaiians

INTRODUCTION

In September, 1970, a group of low-income Hawaiians came together in Waimanalo to form a dynamic community organization that would deal with the problems facing disadvantaged Hawaiians. They appropriately called themselves "The Hawaiians." In one year, membership grew to include 5,000 members scattered over the five major islands. By 1974 there were 8,000 members.

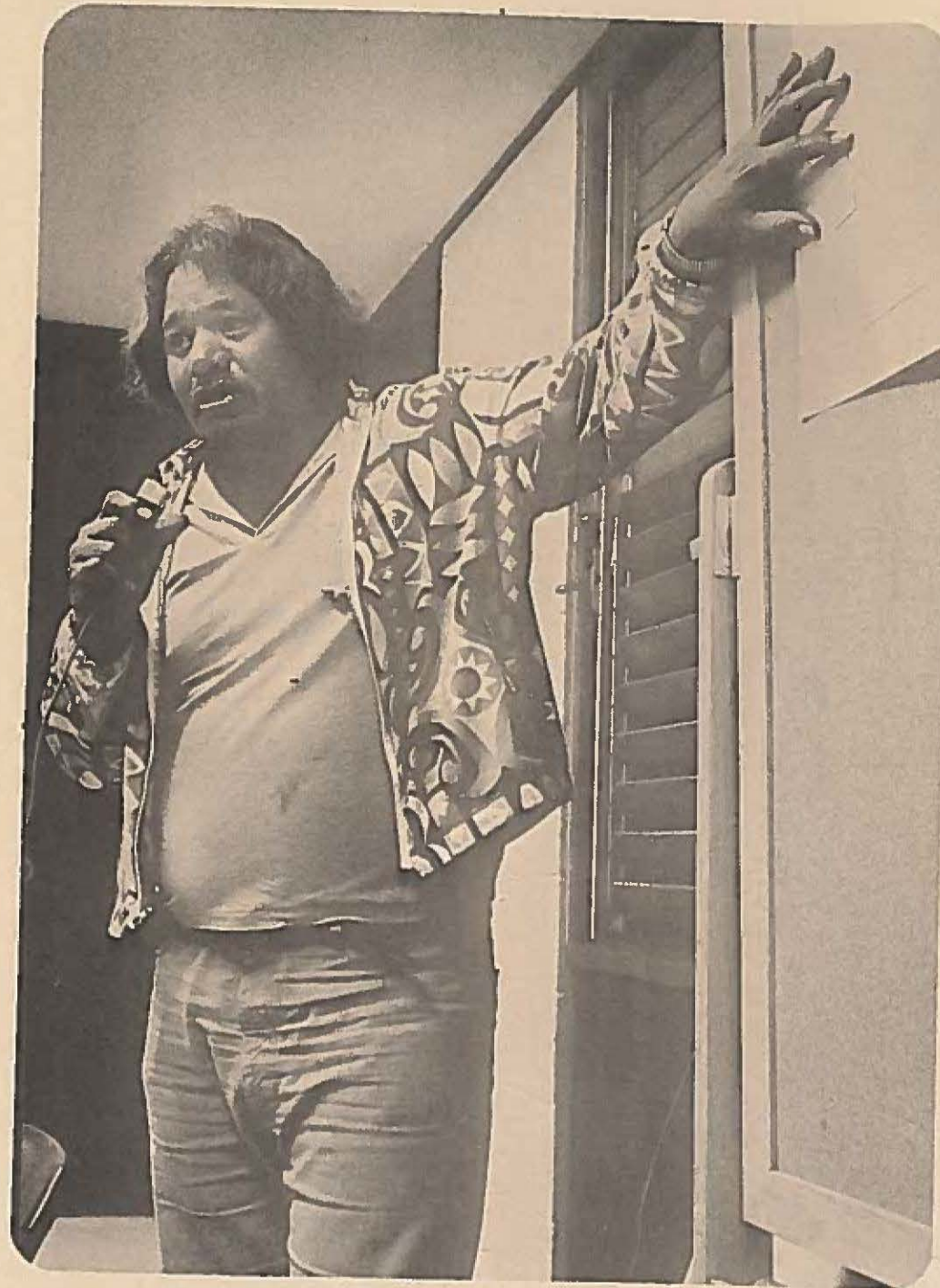
The primary initial goal of The Hawaiians was to improve the critical housing shortage that existed among the Hawaiian people.

The group first focused its efforts on the Hawaiian Homes Commission. The Hawaiian Homes Commission had been established in 1920 to administer 200,000 acres of land that the U.S. Congress had set aside for the purpose of "rehabilitating" the Hawaiians, by returning them to the land. The land was to be made available to persons of 50% or more Hawaiian ancestry for a \$1.00 per year lease fee. While the stated purpose of the commission sounds noble and humanitarian, in actual practice it has not been a totally honest attempt to return the Hawaiians to the land. In setting up the commission, prime agricultural land had been turned over to plantations and big ranches. Only second and third class lands had been set aside for

the Hawaiians to homestead.

By 1970, only 40,000 acres out of the total 200,000 acres were being leased to qualified Hawaiians. Only 2,100 Hawaiian families lived on Homestead land while there were 2,900 families on the waiting list. Some applicants have been waiting for twenty years. A major portion of the remaining lands were leased to powerful non-Hawaiian interests involved in ranching, industry and business. The Hawaiians raised a number of issues on the administration of various aspects of the program. The program had to be made more accountable to the Hawaiians that it had been set up to serve. The reason for focusing on the Commission in solving the housing crisis was because the Commission had land that could be made available to Hawaiians for homes. This would reduce the cost of building a home, because the rise in the cost of land was a major reason for the rise in the cost of homes.

In addition to housing, The Hawaiians identified many other problems facing poor Hawaiians. Although the purpose of the Commission was to administer programs for the rehabilitation of Hawaiians, the Hawaiian Homes Commission was not doing its part to help Hawaiians solve their problems. The Hawaiians proposed that the commission broaden out its programs to begin to meet some of the needs of the Hawai-



ians, such as education and financial assistance.

The Hawaiians also began to seek additional resources to use for the needs of the people. They took it upon themselves to initiate new programs, independent of the Commission in meeting the needs of the people. In 1972 they received a \$10,000 grant and two years later they received a \$30,000 grant. These funds were used to carry out programs such as a food co-operative and a homes building program. The programs are designed to compliment the programs of the commission and other institutions that are set up to benefit Hawaiians, and they are set up so that the people who the programs are supposed to serve participate in the planning and implementation of the programs.

The central goal of "The Hawaiians" is to have Hawaiians participate more fully in the development of their own destinies. They have identified three major areas that must be developed for Hawaiians to achieve self-determination:

1. development of their economic resources,
2. development of their political power and,
3. development of a sense of identity and pride in that identity.

The Hawaiians have come a long way since their early formation in Waimanalo. They have brought progressive changes in the Hawaiian Homes Commission; they are a recognized force in the Hawaiian community and in government; they have gained a broad base of support from Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian individuals and organizations; and most important they are successfully carrying out programs of action in the Hawaiian community.

PURPOSE

The purposes of the Hawaiians are as follows:

1. to seek justice and to promote the general welfare of the Hawaiian people

in social, spiritual, educational and economic affairs;

2. to promote Hawaiian culture at its best throughout the State of Hawaii;

3. to encourage pride in the Hawaiian heritage, especially among the Hawaiian race;

4. to provide and improve communication and mutual understanding among the Hawaiian people themselves and with other people of Hawaii concerning their mutual welfare and perpetuation of the Hawaiian people;

5. to provide a formal voice and organization through which the Hawaiian people of the State of Hawaii can participate fully and more meaningfully in the determination and development of policies and decisions affecting the destiny of the Hawaiian people.

MEMBERSHIP, LEADERSHIP and DECISION-MAKING

The Hawaiians are comprised of 8,000 persons, most of whom are "common folk," low-income, disadvantaged and powerless Hawaiians. They are organized into chapters on each of the major islands which came under the state chapter of The Hawaiians. Each chapter operates autonomously to deal with situations in their immediate area. The state board sets the course of action where statewide issues are involved. Representatives of the state and island chapters gather once a month on Oahu and occasionally on another island to discuss progress reports and other affairs of the organization throughout the state. The number of representatives is determined according to the density of the population of the chapter's area.

To be a member of The Hawaiians, one must be full or part-Hawaiians. A non-Hawaiian person may become an associate member and participate in the organization's activities, but may not hold office. The Hawaiians contend that if Hawaiians are to

become self-determining, their movement must be spearheaded by Hawaiians. The Hawaiians have set out to organize 'Hawaiian style,' and not according to a mainland model of organization. The decision-making process is based on consensus and the model of the extended Hawaiian family (ohana). When the formal vote takes place a consensus has already been reached among the members of the group.

The process by which decisions are made is as important as the final decision itself. Periodically The Hawaiians have Ho'oponopono, the process whereby things are talked out and anger or frustration can be released. This is important to building a strong working relationship and feeling of unity among membership and leadership.

The organization feels that it is strong because of its grassroots people. The majority of the members are low-income Hawaiians. They know the problems of poor Hawaiians from experience. The officers of the organization come from low-income areas. The basic philosophy of the organization is that the organization exists primarily for the poor and should therefore also be controlled by the poor.

PROGRAMS OF ACTION

In their early days, The Hawaiians organized public rallies and mass meetings. Their method of approaching the opposition was one of confrontation. Later, they decided to work through the system before resorting to other tactics.

In this change, The Hawaiians took action in two different directions. First, they worked through government for changes in the policies and procedures of the Hawaiian Homes Commission and second, they worked to organize the disadvantaged Hawaiians and initiated programs to serve them. The possibility of using confrontation tactics was never ruled out, however.

Action taken through government has

included lobbying at the legislature, filing suits in court and negotiating with the Hawaiian Homes Commission.

One of the first issues that The Hawaiians took up was the appointment of a new director and new commissioners to the Hawaiian Homes Commission in 1970. Although none of their nominees for director was appointed, they succeeded in getting one of their nominees, James Zablan, appointed as commissioner.

A major complaint about the Commission was its secrecy on records which were supposed to be public and its privacy in making policies and decisions that had far-reaching effects on Hawaiians. But maintaining secrecy as to qualifications for Hawaiian Homes Lands and the location and extent of the lands, the Commission was able to allocate land as it pleased, without public accountability. There had been cases where persons would be granted land because of personal friendships. It was discovered that 15,620 acres of HHC lands on Maui were on lease to the non-Hawaiian mayor of Maui, Elmer Cravalho. It was also found that 205 acres of HHC lands in Hoolehua, Molokai had been auctioned off to non-Hawaiians. At that time there were 3,000 Hawaiians on the waiting list, some of whom had been waiting for 20 years.

The Hawaiians pursued these issues by filing suit in court and by lobbying at the legislature. This resulted in a legislative resolution and the final compliance on the part of the Commission to hold public hearings on policy changes and to make their public records available for review.

The Hawaiians also pushed for development of more homes on Hawaiian Homes Commission lands. As a result of their lobbying efforts \$9 million was approved by the Legislature for the HHC operating and capital improvements budget for houselot development. It was the aim of The Hawaiians to have the Commission's rate of 30 new sites available annually raised to the level

of 200 new lots available per year.

In 1972, The Hawaiians made another advance by filing suit against the commission for keeping two persons on the commission after their terms had expired. As a result, those commissioners were thrown out, and The Hawaiians' nominees, Rosemond Victorino and Abbie Napeahi were appointed.

The strength of The Hawaiians has always been in the community and the ability of The Hawaiians to draw their support on issues. Most of the membership of The Hawaiians, mentioned earlier are low-class and disadvantaged Hawaiians. The Hawaiians, therefore, have sought to start programs on their own, which would serve to meet the needs of their constituents.

In May, 1973, The Hawaiians started a food co-op. They worked through the Honolulu Mayor's office to establish it on Oahu within existing rules and regulations for the sales of food. Through the co-op rural Hawaiian farmers bring their produce to town and sell their produce directly to people rather than having to go through a retailer. The food can therefore be sold at prices that are lower than store prices.

The first People's Market, as it is called, was set up at Kaumakapili Church once a week on Saturdays. It serves the Kalihi-Palama area. A second "market" was set up in the Palolo and a third is planned for Kalihi. The main purpose of the co-op is to provide a service. It is not a profit-making venture. For this reason markets have been located in low-income areas of the island, and prices are very reasonable.

A second major project of The Hawaiians has been the construction of low-cost homes. It began when Dixon Enos and other members of The Hawaiians designed and constructed homes for themselves in Kona with the help of friends who had some experience in various aspects of homebuilding.

The total cost was \$5,500. Their success was an impetus for The Hawaiians to make

the building of low-cost homes a major project. The Hawaiians contacted the Hawaii Community Design Center and began to work with VISTA volunteers to construct model homes that would cost \$5,000 to construct.

Once the models were built, then The Hawaiians will go out to convince others to construct their own homes using the model plans, cheaper lumber and advice from those who have built the model homes. This program not only benefits Hawaiians. The model can be followed by all people who want to construct low-cost homes that are of good quality and suit their lifestyle.

Funding for The Hawaiians to organize and to carry out its programs has come from two grants. In 1972 the Episcopal Church granted them \$10,000. In 1974, the Presbyterian Church granted them \$30,000. The monies from both grants have been used for organizing. Most of the money from the second grant will be used to carry on the two major projects and expanding the projects to other islands.

The Hawaiians have also become involved in other important issues facing all Hawaiians. They supported the efforts to save the Koloko Fishpond and the surrounding area of Honokohau in Kona. This was a very sacred and important area to ancient Hawaiians. Hawaiians today are trying to preserve the few remaining historical sites of their ancestors.

They also participated with the Ad Hoc Committee for a Hawaiian Trustee in 1974 when Trustee Atherton Richards died.

OPPOSITION

The immediate opposition comes from government and the particular heads of departments and offices, particularly within the Hawaiian Homes Commission.

The cause of the problems that The Hawaiians are attempting to solve through the changes in the government can be seen as the result of the clash between Hawaiian

culture and Western culture. The imposition of Western culture on the Hawaiians has resulted in the destruction of Hawaiian culture, so that there are only a few remaining parts of the culture which are still practiced.

The Hawaiians have been forced to conform to a different set of values. These values have developed out of a profit-oriented economic system that demands competition rather than co-operation.

The Hawaiian economic system, out of which Hawaiian culture and values evolved was based on co-operation and collective work. The government reinforced the Western economic system and values through

its various institutions—schools, courts, agencies and commissions. The government is also responsible for hindering the self-development of the Hawaiians by excluding Hawaiians from decision-making through the enforcing of complex and inflexible policies and procedures.

ALLIANCES

In 1971 The Hawaiians participated in the formation of the Ad Hoc Committee for a Hawaiian Trustee. Later they pulled out. In June, 1973 The Hawaiians joined together with other Hawaiian groups to form the Hawaiian Coalition. Today many of the leaders of The Hawaiians are also members of other Hawaiian organizations.



The Hawaiians has also joined the Legislative Coalition, a coalition of groups working for economic relief for poor people. It is the only Hawaiian organization to have joined the Legislative Coalition.

SUMMARY

One major problem of The Hawaiians has been the acquiring of sufficient funds to initiate new programs for the Hawaiian Community and to maintain the operations of a statewide organization.

A major expense has been inter-island travel costs for chapter officers to attend state board meetings. Funds were also needed for a central office, office staff and the production of an informational newsletter on organizational activities and issues.

In February, 1974, the \$30,000 Presbyterian Church grant was approved. The money will assist the development of the food co-op program and the setting up of an office with hired staff. The role of the staff is to co-ordinate programs of the organization.

Their objectives for the next few years identify what the organization sees as important areas that need to be developed in the future:

1. Expand the membership by 2,000 new members each year for the next three years and organize them into neighborhood and community chapters.
2. Secure the appointment of another person of Hawaiian ancestry who is sympathetic to the common Hawaiians, to the Hawaiian Homes Commission.
3. Conduct a series of chapter meetings to identify common problems and to develop legislative proposals and programs.
4. Lobby for greater financial support for the Hawaiian Homes Commission from the State Legislature in order to accelerate its housing and social service programs.
5. Conduct a voters registration campaign.

6. Conduct voter education programs through workshops, leadership training and newsletters.
7. Hire researchers to develop the needed information to support the community organization thrust, i.e. identify where Hawaiian Homes Lands are, and feasibility studies on economic projects for and by Hawaiians.
8. Develop food co-op programs on Molokai, Kauai and Maui and Hawaii.

In their four years of organizing, The Hawaiians have succeeded to bring attention to the major problems facing disadvantaged Hawaiians, but more important, they have initiated changes, through government and through community programs to begin to solve those major problems.

They have brought about specific changes in Hawaiians Homes Commission policies to the benefit of Hawaiians. They also got more influence in the decisions of the Commission by getting three of their members appointed to the Commission.

The Hawaiians have also developed their own programs funded through grants. They have succeeded in taking the initial steps toward greater self-determination for disadvantaged Hawaiians. They plan to expand their activities across the State and to continue to work for full self-determination in everything that affects the lives and destinities of Hawaiians.

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1. Steve Morse, member of The Hawaiians (Interview: April 9, 1974).
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Congress of the Hawaiian People

INTRODUCTION

On June 19, 1971 Matsuo "Matsy" Takabuki, key organizer of the Democratic Party, city councilman for fourteen years, attorney for Capital Investment and very close associate of Governor Burns, was appointed to the Bishop Estate as trustee, by the Supreme Court. Two days later, on June 21, a general meeting of all Hawaiians and persons interested in the Hawaiian cause, was called by Rev. Abraham Akaka. Nearly 1500 people turned out for the meeting at Kawaihau Church.

Takabuki's appointment heightened the sense of powerlessness among the Hawaiians. They were forced to react to the reality of the appointment of another non-Hawaiian to control the future of the Bishop Estate. He was a man who had no history of involvement with the Hawaiian community.

Part of the resolution of that first night's meeting at Kawaihau, was the election of a committee of persons by the general body. The responsibility of the committee was to follow through the protest of the appointment and to try to overturn the appointment in order that a qualified Hawaiian might be appointed. This committee was called the Ad Hoc Committee for a Hawaiian Trustee.

After a summer of work on the issue, Hawaiian organizations and other interested

Hawaiian individuals began to realize that there were larger issues, beyond that of appointing a Hawaiian to the trusteeship of the Bishop Estate that had to be dealt with. The Hawaiians in the community faced many different kinds of problems. Many issues had arisen in the past, of which the Takabuki issue was the more recent and pressing. The participants saw the need for an organization to begin to solve the problems facing Hawaiians.

On October 30, 1971, forty delegates representing all islands and most of the Hawaiian organizations met to ratify a charter and by-laws for the Congress of the Hawaiian People. In an address to 300 people at Kawaihau the following day, Rev. Abraham Akaka spoke of the plight of the Hawaiians today and cited the fact that for a long time Hawaiians have been on the lowest rung of the per capita income ladder. They have the highest rate of heart disease and illness in the state, the lowest level of education and the highest crime rate. He then announced the formation of the Congress of Hawaiian People. He said that its purpose was to provide the vehicle for unifying and uplifting the Hawaiians through non-partisan political actions. This was to be accomplished by seeking solutions to the problems affecting the social, economic, and educational welfare of the Hawaiian people.

PURPOSE

The Congress of Hawaiian People have very broad goals. Their specific issues, concerns and programs of action fall under the fulfillment of the organizations's four major goals:

1. To form a union of Hawaiian organizations, groups and individuals.
2. To improve the social, economic and educational welfare of the Hawaiian people.
3. To preserve the cultural heritage of our Hawaiian people.
4. To improve the community in which our Hawaiian people live.

MEMBERSHIP, LEADERSHIP AND DECISION MAKING

There are 4,000 members in the Congress of Hawaiian People, of which there are around 150 very active members. The only qualifications for membership is the payment of the dues, which are \$1.00 per year for adults and 50¢ per year for those under 18. About 90% of the membership is Hawaiian. Members range from low income to high income and from varied professions.

The leadership of the Congress is Hawaiian. One must be Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian in order to qualify for office.

The Congress is a statewide organization which is organized into four district councils, on Oahu, Maui, Kauai and Hawaii. Representatives from each of the councils come together and form the Board of Directors, the central governing body for the organization.

Meetings are held each month on every island. Most of the decisions for the organization are made at these council meetings. It is here that information is reported, and the membership responds to what is going on.

The Congress of Hawaiian people have a full-time paid staff. In August of 1973, Mr. James Bacon was hired as Executive Director. Mr. Bacon is a part-Hawaiian, who

has a B.A. from the University of Hawaii and a Masters degree from U.C.L.A. His background is in social work, administration and politics.

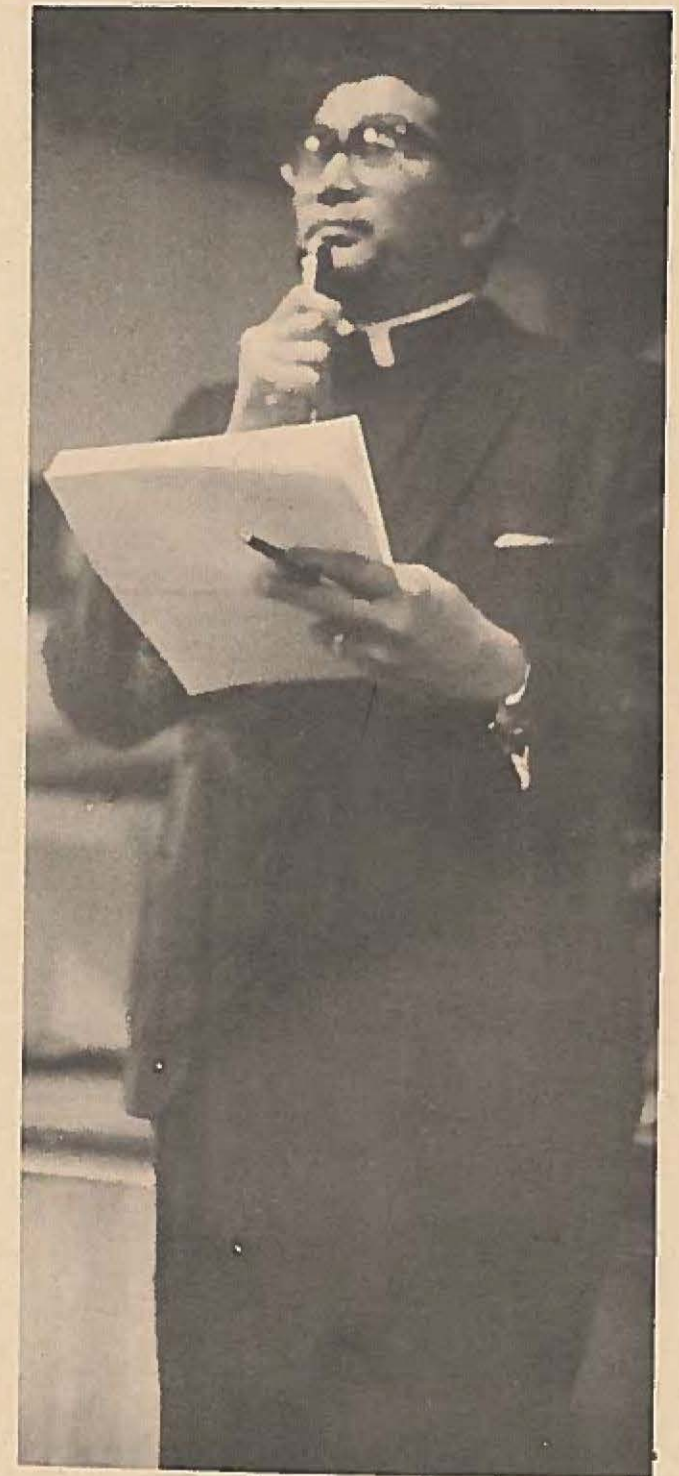
At present Rev. Abraham Akaka is the President of the organization. However his role with the organization is more honorary because of his many duties at Kawaihau Church. The Vice President, John Agard, is, generally speaking, the man who holds the highest decision making position in the organization. Paige Barber is the Secretary for the organization, Lehua Ghoo the Assistant Treasurer and Reginald Abbey is the Treasurer.

There are a number of committees which have been set up to involve the membership in the various programs that the Congress carries out. Recently the Congress of Hawaiian People have hired Lehua Choo as Volunteer Co-ordinator. Her role is to draft volunteers among the membership and co-ordinate their work, in the area of their interest, for the benefit of the Congress. The following list of committees gives an idea of the areas in which the membership is working: Economic Development, Education, Equal Opportunity, Budget & Finance, Hawaiian Homes Land, Historical Sites, Legal, Membership, Organization, Political Action and Public Relations.

PROGRAMS OF ACTION

The Congress of Hawaiian People have sponsored many programs of action over the past few years of its operations. A major direction in which the Congress has developed is toward becoming an advocate for the Hawaiian people. Congress has taken on the role of speaking out for the Hawaiian people on various occasions.

They have been involved in getting persons of Hawaiian ancestry to apply for the Law School at the University of Hawaii and pushing their acceptance. They have written letters to the newspaper editor



on various occasions and have spoken out where they saw injustice done to the Hawaiian people. Congress has also given testimony at the Legislature on bills that were of major significance to the Hawaiian community. On occasion, they are asked to speak out for people who are reluctant to speak for themselves.

Their office has also developed into a clearinghouse for information, where people call to find out what is going on. People who are frustrated and people who want to say something in reaction to issues that arise, call in to the Congress as a way of expressing themselves and seeking out action where they see a need for it.

In the past, the Congress has spoken out in support of Kahana Valley residents and the mental health program, and they have spoken out in protest against job discrimination and racial discrimination in all areas.

In the Volcanoes National Park area, the Congress of the Hawaiian People has been seeking compensation for displaced families. It has also successfully delayed a geothermal energy drilling project near Halemaumau Crater by asking for an environmental impact statement. The project would take place on ancient Hawaiian sacred ground.

Another issue which the Congress undertook successfully involved the McKesson Company. The company attempted to sell liquor in decanters molded to represent King Kamehameha, but a protest from Congress members halted sales of the product bottled in such a manner.

In the area of historic preservation, the Congress participated in a delegation to Washington D.C. on November 1, 1971 to testify against resort development around Kaloko Pond in Kona. While there, the nine-member delegation also sought legislative action to preserve other historic sites.

In the early days of the organization, the Congress worked together with the Ad Hoc Committee for a Hawaiian Trustee, in

following up the suit which had been filed. The Congress branched out into the other areas of its concerns.

In fulfillment of its educational goals the Congress has held two conferences and has plans for several more. The first, held in June, 1973 was on leadership. In September, 1973, a second conference was held on the topic of "What is a Hawaiian?" George Kanehele, Jon Chinen, Alvin Shim and Lynette Kahkili Paglignawan were among the main speakers at the conference. Topics covered Japanese investment, Hawaii's economy, labor and Ho'oponopono. A three day seminar for youths, ages 10 to 13 is being planned for June, 1974. The subject will be on Hawaiian culture.

The Congress writes, funds and distributes a newsletter called the *Ka Po'e*. The paper goes out to all members as well as to other interested persons. In the paper the issues and programs of the Congress, as well as other major Hawaiian organizations are reported. It is a way of letting people know what is going on, who is involved and what others can do to help.

Recently the Congress applied for and was granted funds for a volunteer program to be carried out within the community. The money is to come from ACTION, a federally funded program under the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

In the area of increasing the economic welfare of the people, the Congress has been trying for the past six months to start a credit union. Organizations has been delayed due to the broad membership of Congress.

The Congress is also looking into the possibility of forming a business consultant agency whose services would be provided free to all minority business men or women, and to people who would like to start a business and need additional expertise and resources.

Congress is also providing money saving services to its members, such as the sale of

tires and batteries, group auto insurance, and household appliances and goods at discount prices.

Congress is preparing to sponsor a Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian exconvict when he is released or paroled from prison. They would help him find a job, pay his union dues and finance some of his expenses until he is on his feet again. This program will begin in May, 1974 after a sponsorship committee is selected.

The Congress has initiated its own fund raiser, last year with a concert of Hawaiian music in which the established Hawaiian entertainers, introduced young Hawaiian talent. A record of the first concert has been produced and is now being sold. A concert is being planned for this year and it will become an annual affair. The concert serves to raise money, but more importantly it gives youth the opportunity to present and show their talent, encourages them to learn and perform Hawaiian music and dance and to take an interest in their culture. The funds raised go towards scholarships. The three scholarship recipients will be introduced at the youth concert in May, 1974.

The final major area in which Congress has taken action is in the area of its original scope of concerns. It has assumed the role of "watchdog" on the Bishop Estate. In fall 1973, when the Bishop Estate sold its lands at Kapua, a press conference was called, at which time Congress protested the sales and called for the resignation of all of the trustees, except Richards, the only trustee who voted against the sales. The Friends of Kamehameha filed suit against the estate on the issue that the sales would adversely affect the beneficiaries of the estate—the Students of the Kamehameha Schools.

They see a need for the Schools to extend its education to more of the children in the State who are of Hawaiian ancestry. They also see a need for the schools to change its admission policies in

order to allow more students who are low and average achievers to have the advantage of the School's education.

With the death of Richards in March, 1974 the Congress of Hawaiian People played an active role in the move to support the selection of a Hawaiian Trustee in that vacancy. The Ad Hoc Committee, comprised of 27 various Hawaiian organizations called several public meetings for the purpose of having the Hawaiian organizations and other interested Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians to develop a criteria and to screen and select a list of Hawaiians who best fit that criteria to submit to the justices of the State Supreme Court for appointment to the Bishop Estate. In all, the Ad Hoc Committee submitted the names of seven qualified Hawaiians to the justices for their consideration.

ALLIANCES

As stated earlier, one of the primary goals of the Congress of Hawaiian People is to support Hawaiian Organizations whenever possible. They believe that unity among Hawaiians and Hawaiian Organizations is important. To this end, Congress has supported A.L.O.H.A. in its move to raise money and to gain support for the money and land reparations claim it will be making to the U.S. Congress. They have also supported the Hawaiians in their efforts to have more Hawaiian Homes Commission lands released to the Hawaiian people. Congress was very active in the formation of the Coalition of Hawaiian Organizations, in March, 1973. Congress has also supported the Friends of Kamehameha, the Kamehameha Alumni, Hui Malama Aina O Koolau, Homerule and the Legislative Coalition in some of their issues.

In other areas of the community, Congress supported the efforts of the Salt Lake residents to prevent Salt Lake from being filled in and the efforts of the Old Vineyard area to protect themselves from

eviction by the State for construction of a parking lot.

OPPOSITION

In looking at the history and record of the organization's actions to date, the opposition has been more identifiable. It seems that from the outset, Congress has been working to keep the Bishop Estate honest, and accountable to the Hawaiian Community. This has been in all areas of responsibility of the Bishop Estate—from land sales and leases to the operations of the Kamehameha Schools.

The Congress has also had to confront the government branches and agencies at different levels of operations.

SUMMARY

Problems: A major problem in organizing has been to let more people know that an organization such as Congress does exist. This has been the problem in trying to broaden out and bring more people into the membership.

The leadership of Congress also sees the need to develop more dynamic and committed leaders within the organization. This will involve defining the kind of leadership that is wanted and needed to best serve the needs of the organization, and to go among the membership to find potential leaders and to help them develop.

At this point in time, the Congress also sees the need to draft short-range objectives and long-range objectives and programs in order to meet the broad goals that have been set out. The Congress must be fully prepared for the coming years ahead.

Finally, the Congress needs to get a more solid base of financial support in order to keep their programs going, their records in order and their staff going. Before

they can expand to other areas, a more regular and solid base of financing is needed. Much time is now being spent on raising funds.

Accomplishments: The Congress of Hawaiian People has made progress in areas of unity, leadership and education. In the area of unity, they have participated with other Hawaiian Organizations in the formation of the Hawaiian Coalition

In the area of leadership, the Congress has held two leadership training seminars with the members and has planned a third seminar for youths.

In the area of education, Congress has obtained a grant of \$18,500 from the Health Education and Welfare Department to work with youngsters. Congress has also worked with the law schools. In May, 1974, three scholarships will be announced—one for university, one for Technical School, and one for High School.

Congress hopes to initiate a program to sponsor one Oahu prison parolee in the near future.

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A.L.O.H.A.

INTRODUCTION

A new meaning of the word "aloha" has developed with the formation of the Hawaiian organization Aboriginal Lands of Hawaiian Ancestry of A.L.O.H.A.. This young and ambitious organization was founded in 1972 by Louisa K. Rice who was inspired to organize this group after reading Queen Liliuokalani's autobiography, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*. The Queen's account of the injustice done to the native people of Hawaii at the time of the revolutionary overthrow of the monarchy and subsequent Annexation of Hawaii by the United States government motivated Mrs. Rice to want to do something to correct that injustice. Together with her family, she began to gain support from others. They started on Molokai. One and a half years later in 1974, there were nearly 9,000 members across the State.

PURPOSE

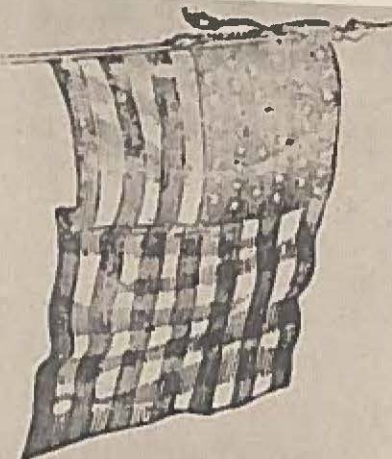
ALOHA's goal is to compensate Hawaiians for the losses they sustained in the annexation of the Islands by the United States. Through annexation, the Hawaiian people lost not only their land, but also their national sovereignty and with it many material opportunities which the resources of the land could have made possible. ALOHA A.L.O.H.A. will seek to get a settlement from

Congress for the claims of the Hawaiian people dating back to and before annexation.

BASIS FOR THE CLAIM

In 1893, a handful of American sugar planters, backed by Marine troops of the American naval vessel, U.S.S. Boston, overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy by forcing Queen Liliuokalani to abdicate her throne. They established a Provisional Government and immediately requested that Hawaii be annexed by the United States. President Grover Cleveland withdrew the treaty of annexation from the Senate and sent a special commissioner, J.H. Blount to investigate the role of the United States in overthrowing the sovereign nation of Hawaii. Blount concluded that Hawaii would never have been ceded to the revolutionists without the presence of the U.S. military might.

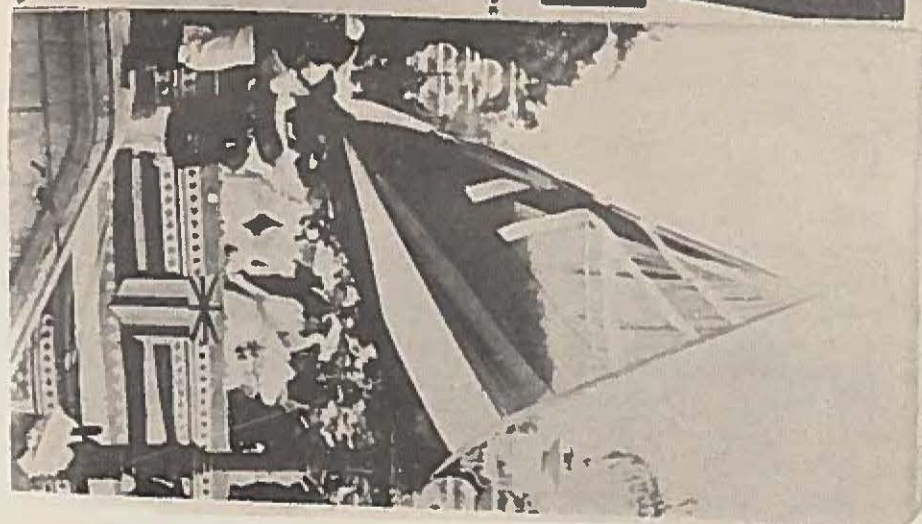
Consequently, Cleveland ordered the provisional government to restore Hawaii to its rightful ruler, Queen Liliuokalani. The provisional government ignored the president and ratified their own constitution and established themselves as rulers of Hawaii. In 1895, they imprisoned Queen Liliuokalani for treason when a group of Hawaiians tried to restore the monarchy. The Big Business interests which supported the overthrow continued to press for annexation and on July 6, 1898, the United



"HERE TO STAY!"

And the star-spangled banner
In triumph shall wave,
O'er the Isles of Hawaii
And the homes of the brave.

H. M. WHITNEY



ANNEXATION!

States ratified a treaty of annexation. This dealt the final blow for foreign control of Hawaii's land and people.

PROGRAMS OF ACTION

ALOHA's programs of action have been aimed at gaining, organizing, and maintaining the support of a broad base of people for their reparations claim.

Probably the best known program was "E Hawaii Makou," which means, "We are Hawaii," a 20-hour telethon of Hawaiian entertainers, broadcasted live from the grounds of Iolani Palace on November 16 and 17, 1973. Hawaiian entertainers donated their talent. Through pledges and contributions, A.L.O.H.A. raised \$150,000. The telethon served the dual purposes of raising funds and of publicizing and gaining support for the ALOHA issues and claims. A slide show relating the history of the illegal annexation of Hawaii by the United States was shown from time to time throughout the telethon. Persons of various ethnic groups, Hawaiian organizations, businesses, and corporations united in their contribution to ALOHA. That show of unity will be of tremendous significance to those in Congress.

The funds are being used to pay debts to establish and maintain a statewide office and staff to pay for research and lobbying to prepare and distribute educational and informational material regarding reparations and to inform the people of Hawaii of A.L.O.H.A.'s objectives.

ALOHA will present their claim to Congress in the form of a Bill, which will lay out the basis for the claim, state the form and amount of compensation that is considered just, and outline the ways in which the reparations will be spread out among all Hawaiians and be used to improve their lot.

To aid them in their efforts, ALOHA has contracted the services of two law firms. On the Hawaii level, Brook Hart and

the law firm of Hart, Sherwood, Leavitt, Blanchfield, and Hall have worked on the development of the ALOHA's legal status as a corporation and have guided the Board of Directors. Stewart Udall and two of his associates, Henry Taliaferro and Richard Allen represent ALOHA in Washington. Udall draws his experience from his tenure as Congressman and Secretary of the Department of Interior and his work with the Alaska natives in their successful settlement of their reparations claims.

Mr. Udall, has drafted a bill for ALOHA to present to Congress. This draft was presented to the annual meeting of the ALOHA association in May, and to the leaders and members of Hawaiian organizations and the public in general throughout the state. It is expected to be introduced in the 1974 Congressional session before adjournment in the Fall.

In drafting the bill, Mr. Udall has taken the following points into consideration:

1. the appropriate legal theory and basis for the claim
2. who will be eligible for the benefits
3. the nature of the corporation which would receive and administer the benefits
4. the means by which to avoid conflict with programs and organizations already benefiting Hawaiians, such as the Hawaiian Homes Program and Bishop Estate
5. the position with respect to Federal surplus lands,
6. the avoidance of possible conflict with the State of Hawaii and others
7. the amount of the proposed cash settlement, and
8. the possible alternatives for royalties and interest in natural resources and other income sources.

As drafted, the bill will make a claim for \$1 billion, to be allocated in sums of \$100 million over a ten-year period to the ALOHA corporation. The corporation will

be set up as a quasi-public and profit-making corporation, with certain advantages of a non-profit organization, such as tax shelters and eligibility for Federal grants. Stocks of the corporation will not be sold. It will be issued to Hawaiians around the world, will be non-transferrable, and shall revert back to the corporation upon death of the holder, to be re-issued by the corporation to future-born Hawaiians.

It has been estimated that the cost of the entire process of introducing the bill and following it through until it is passed may be in excess of \$150,000 and might even require \$1 million. Therefore, more fund raising efforts will be sponsored, perhaps even on a national or international basis.

MEMBERSHIP, LEADERSHIP AND DECISION-MAKING

ALOHA first organized in May, 1972 as an association. One year later, meetings of the membership were held on Molokai and Oahu, at which time the decision was made for ALOHA to become a corporation. In August, 1973, ALOHA was formally incorporated as a non-profit corporation.

The roles of membership and leadership in decision-making is therefore, laid out in accordance with the operation of a regular corporation. It is governed by a 14 member Board of Directors which is made up of elected representatives from each chapter and at-large representatives elected by the entire corporation membership. There is one chapter per island, with four chapters on Oahu. One must be of Hawaiian ancestry in order to qualify for regular membership, non-Hawaiians can become associate members. Upon payment of \$1 one can become a member for life. To be elected to the Board of Directors, one must be of at least 25% Hawaiian ancestry and a member of the corporation. They serve one-year terms.

Under the corporation set-up, the Board of Directors is to have the general supervision, management, control and direction of all business and property of the corporation. It must hold three meetings each year to discuss any business that is of main concern to the corporation and its membership. Special meetings may be called by the President of the corporation.

The Board of Directors is required to hold an annual meeting of its membership on the first Saturday in April or as close to that date as possible. It is at the annual meeting that the membership votes on proposed by-laws changes, elects new members to the Board of Directors, and is presented information on the progress made in achieving the main goal.

There is a full-time paid staff working for ALOHA, however, Kekoa Kaapu, Executive Vice-President and the Board of Directors are not paid. They only receive payment for expenses incurred. It is the aim of ALOHA's leadership to have the corporation managed in a professional manner, as they feel that "this will affect the attitude of Congress with respect to the capability of the Hawaiian people to manage large amounts of money and other resources in their own interest."

The ALOHA state office has attempted to centralize management and all functions carried out under the auspices of ALOHA. This includes placing tight control over the obligation and expenditure of ALOHA's funds, and providing administrative back-up for the Board and service to chapter and individual members.

In order to keep in close touch with members, ALOHA has installed data processing of all membership and constitution records. It will also provide current and accurate records on the status of membership.

Membership could grow to more than 100,000 in coming years. While this would

be a mark of success, this will also provide a challenge to the Board to serve all members properly, and to keep them in close contact with the individuals for whose benefit the corporation exists.

Contact with members has been maintained through brochures and through the chapter Presidents. Recently, ALOHA has also begun to print and distribute a newsletter called, *The Aloha-gram*.

OPPOSITION

In an interview with Kekoa Kaapu, he said there is no opposition to the proposal. The problem lies in the apathy and skepticism on the part of the Hawaiian people. He said that people don't believe that the United States Government will just give the Hawaiians \$1 billion.

ALOHA has yet to introduce its bill to Congress, before it can know who or which forces in Congress, if any, will oppose the bill.

ALLIANCES

ALOHA has participated with other Hawaiian organizations in the forming of the Hawaiian Coalition and gives support to the issues of other Hawaiian Organizations. On July, 1973, ALOHA, together with the Congress of Hawaiian People and the Friends of Kamehameha announced their protest to Bishop Estate's sale of the Kapua land on the Big Island. The Friends of Kamehameha followed through and filed a suit.

Since the founding of ALOHA, Mrs. Rice and others have been in close contact with legislators, attorneys and other members of the native group which was responsible for the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971. In the Alaskan settlement, the United States returned 40 million acres of land to the natives and paid \$1 billion cash for land titles they

did not return. ALOHA has been assured the support of the Alaskan group and has already benefitted greatly from advice and resources shared by Alaskan groups.

ALOHA has also received pledges of support from Hawaii's four Congressional delegates. Senator Daniel Inouye requested the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress to compile an analytical comparison of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 with the proposed settlement of native land claims on the part of the native Hawaiians. It has provided helpful information as to how ALOHA should proceed to make its own claim.

ALOHA will have to gain a broad base of support in Hawaii and as much support as possible across the nation in order to gain the support of the United States Congress to make a favorable claims settlement.

SUMMARY

ALOHA has encountered problems of keeping in close touch with its ever expanding membership. The Board of Directors together with their lawyers have strived to develop a master plan to follow in making its claims to Congress. It has also been striving to develop effective operational procedures in its operation. Congressional action on the bill in summer, 1974, might be delayed if Congress initiates impeachment proceedings against President Nixon.

ALOHA has come a long way from its modest beginnings. It has passed through the early period of public skepticism to a position of being the largest and most affluent Hawaiian organization in the state.

They have also made significant progress toward the drawing up of the Reparation Claims Bill and toward gaining support for it.



SOURCES AND REFERENCES

1. Kekoa Kaapu, Executive VP of ALOHA Inc., (Interview: May 18, 1974 & ES 221 class presentation)
2. Charter of Incorporation 1973
3. A.L.O.H.A. Telethon Brochure
4. Informational Brochure, "Bearing A Torch For All Hawaiians Today"
5. *The Alohagram*, April 1974, newsletter published by A.L.O.H.A.
6. Congressional Report analyzing the

Comparison of A Proposed Hawaiian Native Lands Claim Settlement With The 1971 Alaskan Native Claims 1973
7. Newsarticles (next page)

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Homerule Movement

INTRODUCTION

The Homerule Movement was formed in March, 1973 by a group of twenty persons interested in developing political activity among the Hawaiians. They planned to gather information on various political issues and disseminate the information to the Hawaiian community.

The organization derives its name from the original Homerule Party of the 1900's which briefly controlled the Territorial Legislature and provided the Hawaiian people with a voice in the Territorial government and politics.

The Homerule Movement wants to involve more Hawaiians in the local political process. It will take unity and organization to form a force strong enough to challenge those now in power. The information gathered is made available to other Hawaiian organizations within the Hawaiian Coalition to aid them in their political activities. Homerule Movement members also participate in a National Training Laboratory (NTL) workshop where issues relating to social problems in Hawaii is discussed in relation to how individuals can begin to work with others in solving those problems.

According to Fred Cachola, member of Homerule, and Director of Extension Education at Kamehameha Schools, "The

assumption in Homerule is that politics is one means by which we can seek social justice among Hawaiians. Our interest is primarily with legislative elections and lobbying. It lies specifically with legislation and the election process."

PURPOSE

The Movement's goal is to restore power to the common people. Specific guidelines for Homerule activities are listed in the organization's platform. Highlights of the platform are as follows:

LAND AND LAND USE

support issues concerning the Hawaiian Homes Commission.

support various charitable trusts.

(Liliuokalani and Bishop Estate)

support private landholdings that protect community developments.

support movements seeking to preserve agricultural lands.

support movements seeking to preserve the natural beauty of Hawaii.

support legislation to eliminate "land speculation and to control developer's profit margin."

support the preservation, restoration, and education of historic sites in Hawaii through legislative lobbying.

POLITICAL ACTION

support political education on issues



involving Hawaiians.
 support party politics through the
 organization of grass-roots movements
 among our people.
 support the Kamehameha Schools as
 directed by Bernice Pauahi Bishop.
 support and offer any assistance to
 our people should they have any
 problems concerning government,
 welfare, medical, social or domestic
 matters.
 support the needs of our Hawaiian
 people.
 support agencies responding to the
 needs of our people.
 to encourage and support for appoint-
 ment to government agencies and
 commission, individuals who are res-
 ponsive to the needs of our people.

EDUCATION

support educational institutions that
 benefit the Hawaiian people.
 support Ethnic Studies programs at
 the University of Hawaii for Hawaiian
 people.
 support individuals who educate our
 people and inform them of pertinent
 political issues arising.
 support the educational programs
 designed to help our people develop
 politically.

GOVERNMENT ISSUES

support individuals in politics on a
 local and state level who are respon-
 sive to the needs of Hawaiians.
 support individuals who can well
 represent the majority of Hawaiians
 and is willing to consult with us on
 our level anytime a problem arises.
 support and keep in tune with the
 politicians, by checking up on their
 progress.
 make available to the public and its
 members all information that is
 pertinent to the Hawaiians.

MEMBERSHIP, LEADERSHIP AND DECISION-MAKING

The Homerule Movement's membership
 numbers just over 200, and includes welfare
 recipients, middle-class working people,
 educated professionals, politicians and
 businessmen. The most active members are
 middle-class and professional and business
 people.

Homerule's need for human resources
 range from professional people, and cam-
 paign organizers to researchers, lobbyists,
 writers and speakers.

To be a member, you may be of any
 race, if you are primarily interested in working
 to meet the needs of the Hawaiian people.
 Membership dues are \$5.00 per year for
 each member. The Homerule Movement is
 presently divided according to voting
 districts, with district representatives of
 each district making up the Board of
 Directors. All meetings are held at the
 Liliuokalani Trust which is located on
 1300 Halona Street. Executive Board mem-
 bers meet on the first Tuesday of each
 month and the general membership meets
 on the third Tuesday of each month. The
 meetings are open to all who may be
 interested in aligning themselves with the
 goals and objectives of the organization.

General membership participation in
 decision-making is on two levels:

1. attendance at meetings where deci-
 sions are made, and,
2. personal responses to surveys and
 questionnaires and telephone contacts.

The general membership is kept informed
 of the issues of the organization through
 their newsletter, *Ho'omalalama*, telephone
 contacts, attendance at meetings and
 through participation in committees.

The movement's financial support comes
 from membership dues, fund raising projects,
 and donations from various individuals
 throughout the state.

Research and services are performed
 voluntarily by members and others in the

community who express interest in a particular activity of the organization.

PROGRAMS OF ACTION

Committees have been formed to investigate land, educational, environmental and other critical issues of the state. Members of Homerule have been instrumental in lobbying for certain legislation in this past session with the Senate and the House of Representatives. One House bill that was proposed and introduced through lobbying in the 1974 Legislative Session related to protection of Kuleana land titles, the other related to the preservation of historic sites and objects. Although no action was taken on the bills, the session has given Homerule's lobbyists experience that will be useful in future lobbying efforts. Homerule welcomes committed people who are interested in doing research on kuleana land ownership and other issues to join them in making testimony in support of their bills and resolutions. During the session, Homerule also gave testimony on the H-3, the Heeia-Kai Purchase Proposal, the Kalaupapa Park Proposal and the Honokohau Park Proposal. All of these issues involved the preservation of historical Hawaiian sites. Homerule also testified on the proposed changes in the Penal Code and on the Hawaiian Homestead issue. They also testified against the Flat-Grant Welfare proposal.

Homerule has also taken part in talk shows on radio and T.V. informing the public of Hawaiian concerns. This year, Homerule participated in meetings held at McKinley High School Auditorium to submit nominations to fill the vacancy left with the death of Atherton Richards. They also submitted their own list of six candidates to the Justice of the Supreme Court.

OPPOSITION

Homerule sees opposition among the legislators on the city and state levels of

government. Another opposing factor is the reluctance of people to become involved with politics. This can be solved through the education of people to make them aware of the issues affecting them and making them realize that by making their grievances known to their district representatives and other politicians, they can influence decisions.

ALLIANCES

Some Homerule members are educators and administrators with the Department of Education and the Kamehameha Schools. Some members are lawyers, and others also work in areas affiliated with the courts. A few members are legislators. These affiliations could be an influencing factor and a positive force in dealing with the problems and issues involving the Hawaiians.

Homerule has participated in the formation of the Hawaiian Coalition, an organization whose membership is drawn from the more activist Hawaiian organizations. It is through this coalition that Homerule works to support other Hawaiian organizations.

SUMMARY

Presently, the Homerule Movement will keep its "low profile" image and continue to be an information gathering unit. Homerule is not endorsing any particular candidates this year but some of its members are actively helping those politicians who support their interests.

On November 30 and December 1 and 2, 1973, Homerule held a workshop in which they evaluated their work and set out operational goals and objectives. The purposes of the workshop were as follows:

1. To evaluate the role of Homerule light of existing manpower.
2. To determine realistic goals and objectives.
3. To formulate specific tasks to be completed within a specified period of time.

4. To generate personal commitment. The outcome of the workshop provides and insight into the future direction of the Homerule Movement. It was as follows:

1. The major role of Homerule is to educate our people in matters concerning Hawaiians and to endorse resolutions directly and indirectly affecting political and legislative processes.
2. Homerule will continue to try to achieve its initial goal of building and maintaining a political power base through a more deliberate process of educating and orienting the Hawaiian community to political personalities, processes and programs affecting the destiny of our state.
3. Homerule will continue to serve as a non-partisan resource of information for the state-wide community.
4. The Executive Board will be comprised of nine members who will be representative of nine geographical districts in the state. These members include Fred Cachola, Patrick Yim, Jackie Mahi Erikson, and Mia Akau.

SOURCES AND REFERENCES

1. Fred Cachola, Director of Extension Education at Kamehameha School.

2. Jackie Mahi Erikson, lobbyist for Homerule.

3. Gard Kealoha, Editor of the newspaper, *Ho'omalama*.

4. The platform of the Homerule Movement, 1973.

5. Information of the Homerule Movement, 1973.

6. *Ahi Wela*, Report on Conference by Winona Rubin, 1973.

NEWS ARTICLES

1. New Hawaiian Political Movement Group formed out of Congress for the Hawaiian People, S & A 11/12/73.

2. Hawaiian Group Seeks Power at Polls. S 3/13/73.

3. Hawaiian Activists Open Office. S & A 3/18/73.

CONTACTS FOR THE ORGANIZATION

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Hui Malama Aina 'O Ko'olau

INTRODUCTION

In March of 1973, members of a Kahaluu ohana (extended family) who lived and worked on kuleana land which had been inherited from their ancestors, formed a small organization and called it *Hui Malama 'Aina O Koolau*, which means, "The group that takes care of the land." Their aim in forming the organization was to preserve their traditional lifestyle and their land upon which it depended. At that time, both were being threatened by extensive plans for upzoning of land for the development of hotels and resorts along the Kahalu'u shoreline. The organization grew to include other kuleana owners in the Kahalu'u area. They began to gain support from others in the community for their struggle to damn the flood of haphazard speculative development that threatened their small community.

PURPOSE

In the thirties, Kahalu'u was a loosely populated rural community which spread out over the narrow, fertile coastal plain between the foot of the Koolau mountains and the shores of Kaneohe Bay. From the land came taro, sweet potato, luau and many fruits. The bay and the sea beyond provided an endless source of fish and limu. Kahalu'u's natural boundary nurtured the easy-going subsistence lifestyles of its early residents

who lived together under the ohana system, on kuleana lands which had been passed down from generation to generation. Uncles, aunts, cousins, nieces, grandparents and parents lived close together, shared the work, the play, the good times and the not-so-good times. When cash was low, family members went out to work until enough cash had been earned. Then, they would quit the job and return to the traditional work.

Integrated among the Kuleana lands were a number of small farms and small stores operated by people of different ethnic backgrounds who had moved into the area.

In 1964, the City and County of Honolulu adopted the Detailed Land Use Map (dlum) for the Kaneohe to Kualoa area. This plan was to be used as a guide in a move to have coordinated development of land in that area. With the recommendations and guidance of some of the large landowners in the Kahalu'u area, notably Castle, Alexander and Baldwin and Dillingham, the General Plan zoned the area of Kahalu'u for land use that would change the entire pattern of land used in Kahalu'u.

The plan was to have Kahalu'u serve as a suburb for the city of Honolulu, or to handle the overflow of population which would occur as a result of development of these areas. Developers were planning to develop additional residential units in the Kahalu'u area. The population density and

overall population of the area would increase as subdivisions of homes were developed. The traditional sources of food growing and gathering disappeared. Streams which had irrigated taro patches were diverted. Water run-off systems were built in their place and run-off and silt from the fresh water streams, which ran through subdivisions poured into Kaneohe Bay, killing the marine life. Taxes on land were raised. The land-oriented lifestyle of the residents was being forced to change. Many who had been self-sufficient were forced into taking wage earning jobs. Those who couldn't work had to rely on welfare. Development was beginning to turn the rural Kahalu'u community into a suburb for the wealthy, and was destroying land, sacred burial grounds, and ancient Hawaiian fish ponds.

Hui Malama Aina O Koolau formed to begin to put a stop to the development that did not consider or serve their interests, but served the interests of the large land-owners and developers. They are determined to be able to decide for themselves how they want their community to develop. Their success or failure has significance for the people who live in other communities on Oahu which are similarly threatened.

MEMBERSHIP, LEADERSHIP AND DECISION-MAKING

Membership at present consists of a small core group of people, who hold regular meetings in Kahalu'u. Most of the active members are also officers of the organization. Should a show of support be needed, however, between 50 and a hundred people can be called. There are no qualifications for membership and no dues are required. However, most of the members, both active and inactive, live in the general area of Kahalu'u.

Officers for the organization were drawn from those people willing to donate their time and energies. The officers are:

President, Luka Naluai
1st Vice- President, Olivia Padeken

2nd Vice- President, Randy Kalahiki
Secretary, Ann Kalahiki
Treasurer, Phoebe Kawelo

These people have been on the job for two years now.

Meetings are held at the playground of the Kahalu'u Elementary School on Thursday nights, starting about 7:30 p.m. Anyone who wishes to attend is welcome. Communication among members and between officers and membership is done by phone or word of mouth. On several occasions, they have employed a newsletter and newspaper articles to inform the community of important issues, projects, and events affecting their community. Two such articles appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and Advertiser entitled, "Community Interaction in Kahalu'u."

At least one of the officers attends public hearings related to Kahalu'u and reports the results of the last hearings at their weekly meeting. If testimony is needed, a committee task force is formed and each issue is thoroughly researched prior to the hearing in order to more effectively present their position. Should there arise a situation in which an important policy decision or action must be made, the officers can call on all the members to come to the meeting and express their views.

The *HUI*'s resources consist of financial support donated by the National Christian Church and the United Church. As a result of the *Hui* lobbying efforts and other political activities, it does not qualify for tax-exempt status.

Presently, the group does not have a paid staff worker, although Randy Kalahiki has held the position in the past. They do, however, retain the services of an attorney from the Legal Aid Office.

PROGRAMS OF ACTION

A number of issues are presently within the focus of the group's attention. They



are actively involved in the following controversial issues affecting the Kahalu'u area:

1. H-3 Trans-Koolau Freeway
2. Flood Control Project in Kahalu'u
3. Heeia Kea Small Boat Harbor plans
4. Gentry & McCormack's proposed marina in Heeia Fishpond
5. Parklane Development planned for Waihee near Kahalu'u Elementary School.
6. Zoning in Kahaluu

The Trans-Koolau H-3 Freeway is probably the most critical issue facing Kahalu'u today. If this transportation corridor is constructed along with the associated widening of the Kahekili Highway and the Kam Highway from the Hygenic store in Kahalu'u to Hauula, the death warrant will have been signed not only for the traditional lifestyles of the kuleana holders, but for rural and low density land use on windward Oahu.

According to the H-3 Socio-Economic Impact Study, prepared by Eckbo, Dean, Austin and William of Honolulu, the projected population for the area from Heeia to Kualoa will be 20,000 people by 1995, an average growth rate of about 4% per year, *without* the construction of H-3. Projected population *with* the construction of the freeway is a staggering 40,000 people by 1995, a growth rate of over 8% a year. This would result in a population density similar to that of the present density of Hawaii Kai or Mililani Town. The study states that "Route H-3 is an influential, immediate, substantial and critical lifeline to growth." . . . This area is programmed to experience a greater rate growth over the next 20 years than any other area on Oahu" resulting in "reduced sources of subsistence livelihood . . . more people (needing) welfare payments . . . more people will become emotionally upset and ill because of disruptions of long-standing living patterns, loss of traditional security, population pressures . . . ethnic

conflicts . . . relocation and competitive work situations . . . family breakdown . . . increased rates of juvenile delinquency and adult crime . . . elderly persons will become more . . . socially isolated. Higher property taxes and housing costs will force . . . families off the lands, resulting in the loss of unique semi-rural vestiges of a Hawaiian pattern of life that can never be duplicated."

In April of 1973, *Hui Malama* filed suit in Federal Court against both the state and federal government officials involved with the H-3 project. They were seeking a permanent injunction on construction until all laws were met. At this time, the suit is still before the court.

Recently, the City and Council held a hearing on the state's request to amend the General Plan so that H-3 could be constructed. Mrs. Naluai and Mrs. Padeken both testified against the proposed change.

Flood Control Project—a major flood control project, costing \$8 million is planned for Kahalu'u. It calls for the construction of a 28-acre lagoon encircled by a 22-acre park. *The Hui* has several concerns: one is that several families will lose their homes by its construction. Another, is that the original intent of the project was to protect existing agricultural lands but there are indications that the project was designed for other purposes. As proposed, it would accelerate urban growth by improving the potential value of surrounding land since large acres of the flood control plan are already zoned urban. Unless flood control is installed, development is prohibited by City and County restrictions that prevent development in flood hazard areas. Although flood control is needed, there are ramifications of speculative urban development pressures. Several *Hui* members have met with the families who have been threatened to assist them in relocating. They have been involved in discussions with community residents and government official about urban speculation.

Heeia Kea Boat Harbor development plan is another area of concern. The State Department of Transportation in 1972 set forth plans for the installment of 1600 boat slips making the harbor the largest marina in all of Hawaii. *The Hui* opposed the plan as its intended use is for persons not presently residents of the area and its development threatens local fishing grounds.

The Gentry-McCormack Proposed Marina In The Heeia Fishpond. The Heeia Fishpond covers an area of 83 acres, surrounded by a wall 5,000 feet in length, the longest wall of any fishpond. It is one of four remaining fishponds on Oahu and provides an excellent example of the collective work of Hawaiian people, their culture and knowledge. It has been declared a valuable historic site and has been placed

on the register of historic places both locally and nationally. Today, the development firm of Gentry-McCormack plans to transform the fishpond into a marina that would accommodate 625 boats. *The Hui* has been responsible for arousing public concern and opposition to these plans before the city and state government for the last two years.

Parklane Country Homes Development—

is a planned unit development that will cover 9.2 acres of land located on Waihee mauka of the Kahalu'u Elementary School. As originally planned, the development would consist of 115 leasehold condominium units in 21 buildings. Each unit was to sell for \$40,000. *Hui Malama Aina O Koolau* objected to the development for



several reasons. First, it would be the "foot-in-the-door" for the full-scale development of Waihee. Secondly, the project would increase the property taxes of the surrounding lands. Thirdly, the homes would not be sold to members of the Kahalu'u community. The planned unit development would introduce a way of life that would be alien to the rural community. The developers have since modified their original plans two times, possibly to deal with these objections. Both plans were rejected by city planning officials. According to Randy Kalahiki, a third plan is expected to be submitted, and the Hui is presently reviewing the case.

ZONING—The General Plan is obsolete, but in Kahalu'u, it is not only obsolete, it is also devastating and destructive to the lifestyle and in no way promotes the general welfare of the people. For example, the Kaneohe-Kualoa Detailed Land Use Map shows roads going through Kuleanas; it shows a sewage treatment plant on Kuleana land, and it designates H-1 (hotel) zoning where many kamaaina families live. *Hui Malama* has argued that development in Kahalu'u should be halted at least until a workable General Plan that would incorporate community input and offer coordinated development for the whole area can be formulated. They have received support from the Windward Regional Council, Hui Koolau, and Kaneohe Outdoor Circle and other concerned Windward residents in this issue.

OPPOSITION

Hui Malama Aina O Koolau is working against the developers of the lands and the owners of the lands who encourage the development to date. The *Hui* must present its position before the City Council and convince them to support the people's interests. In the past, there has been a record of collusion of city officials and private industry.

ALLIANCES

Good relations are maintained with a number of Hawaiian organizations as well as with ecologically-oriented groups and others who share their concern with the preservation of Hawaii's environment and the communities that live in it. They are participating members in the Kahalu'u Coalition made up of some 18 community action groups in the Kahalu'u area. The Hui is also a member of the Hawaiian Coalition. Their efforts and success in their struggle have significance for the people of similarly threatened communities.

SUMMARY

Hui Malama is not against development. They recognize the need for more housing for all people and especially for many of the younger people. They also see the need for economic opportunity for our people. What *Hui Malama* has set out to determine is if the development that they have planned for Kahalu'u will hurt them or help them. The findings of their investigations have been shocking. In going through all the records of the City Planning Department for the past 20 years, not one sentence could be found that recognized the existence of residents in Kahalu'u. All of the planning for the General Plan and for Public Works projects and H-3 was written up as if it was empty land with no history and no people. Worse than that, it appeared as if the development being planned would force them to sell their kuleanas, forcing them onto public welfare and driving them out of their homeland.

Hui Malama Aina O Koolau fought several major real estate developments. Construction on a \$50 million project planned by Dan Aoki was blocked by showing that the 16-story condominium would not be safe on the steep slope where it was to be constructed. The group was also successful in halting the Town Pro-

prietor, Inc. plan to build 70 houses, by raising the probability of flooding during the rainy season.

Problems that the organization has had to deal with is that of having the membership continue to be actively involved when the threat of development is not immediately pressing. However, when the need arises, many people can be counted on to take part in the struggle to protect the community. The *Hui* has the potential for taking an active role in the future of Kahalu'u. They can help shape the plans for development in the area, on behalf of the interests of the residents of the community.

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CONTACTS

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Hawaiian Coalition

The Hawaiian Coalition was founded in March of 1973. It is made up of nine organizations. They are: Ad Hoc Committee for a Hawaiian Trustee, A.L.O.H.A. Association, Inc., Congress of the Hawaiian People, Friends of Kamehameha, The Hawaiians, Homerule Movement, Hui Malama 'o Koolau, Kamehameha Schhols Alumni Association, and Legislative Coalition of Poor People.

The Membership of these organizations comprise the membership of the Hawaiian Coalition. At the present time, the membership number approximately 30,000 people.

The Hawaiian Coalition operates as a voluntary organization with no specific resources and no outlay as a group. All funds are derived from the individual organizations. There are no officers or Board of Directors of the Coalition.

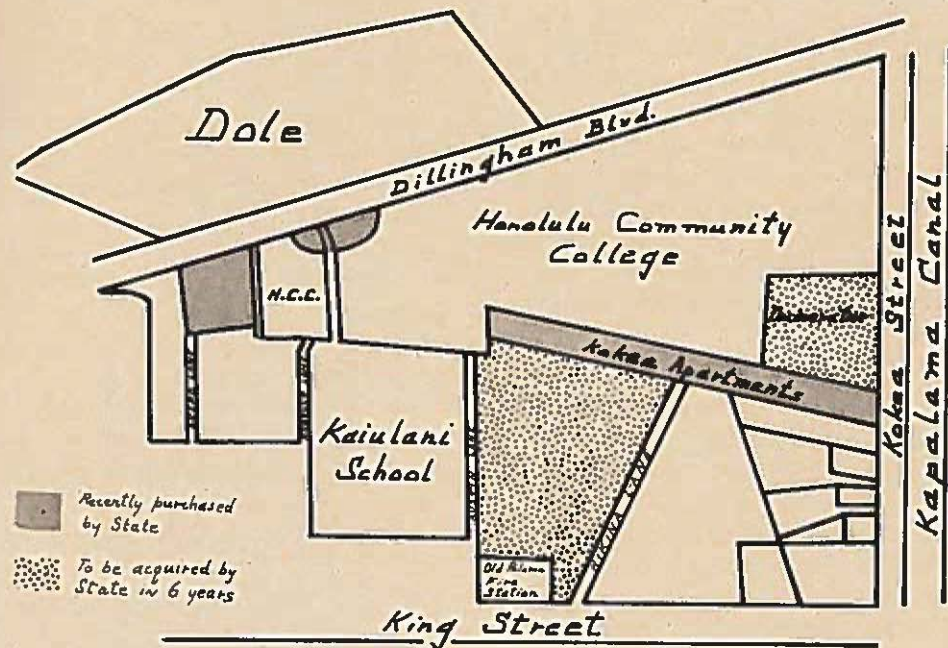
Meetings are held to discuss issues that involve the Hawaiian community. In many instances, the issues and interests overlap between organizations. By discussing these issues together, more light could be shed and they can begin to have a much stronger basis for an appeal.

Meetings are held every 2nd and 4th Friday of each month at the Liliuokalani Trust. Each organization sends one representative. Responsibility of chairing the meetings rotates among the representatives. In that way, no one organization can become the dominant. An important factor to note is that all decisions have to be unanimous.

One of the main objectives of the Coalition is to get large groups to support issues that concern Hawaiians. They want to get as many people especially Hawaiians, involved and concerned with these issues.

Census Tract 57

People's Movement



INTRODUCTION

Census Tract 57 is located in the Kalihi-Palama district. It forms a triangle bordered by Dillingham Blvd. and the Dole Pineapple Cannery on the makai side, by King St. on the mauka side and by the Kapalama Canal and Kokea St. on the Ewa side. Most of the people of the area live in houses and apartments along Robello Lane, Austin Lane, Hikina Lane, Akau Lane, Eu Lane and Kokea St. Included in the Tract is the Honolulu Community College, Kaiulani School and the Kapalama Incinerator.

The formation of the Census Tract 57 People's Movement resulted from a meeting at the Kalihi-Palama Model Cities office at which time an announcement was made that expansion plans for Honolulu Community College had been drawn up. The plans called for eviction of the houses and apartments in nearby lanes for construction of a parking lot and a Trades Building. Eviction notices had been served to the residents of Akepo and Robello Lanes and the people would have to move by March 10, 1973. Concerned residents got the movement going and the community became active. The organized group became known as the Census Tract 57 People's Movement and has been functioning as an organization since November of 1972.

Public hearings were held on the expansion issue. Residents of C.T. 57 People's Movement testified against the expansion of H.C.C. into the community. They stated that they were not against education or expansion of the college, they just opposed expansion into their community. The residents put forth suggestions that involved expanding upwards on existing college land, instead of outwards. Another alternative put forth was to expand across the street to Dole, since the company is moving to the Philippines. The third alternative was to demolish the poisonous incinerator and build on that land. Because of the power of

the C.T. 57 People's Movement, eviction has been postponed and the construction of the Trades Building and the parking lot is also postponed.

The Movement is now moving in the direction of bringing their issue out into the open and informing all the people of Hawaii about their struggle. With the help of Representative Richard Garcia and Legal Aid lawyer Bob LeClaire, a bill was drawn up and introduced in the 1974 Legislative Session. It was intended to get a commitment of support from the State Legislature. The bill died in the Water, Land and Development Committee.

PURPOSE

The main reason for the formation of the C.T. 57 People's Movement is to stop the expansion of H.C.C. into the community. The movement is open to all and believes that 1) if the people are given the facts they will know how to deal with their problems, 2) leadership comes from everyone not a few, 3) work together for the benefit of all and 4) with unity we can win.

Most of the residents of this community have lived there for many years. Their families have lived there for a long, long time. Many residents have been born there. These people will find breaking the ties very difficult. If eviction comes, the movement will fight for relocation of the residents as an entire community. Housing Act 166 states that no eviction can be made without relocation to decent low-cost housing. Adequate housing has not been offered to the people of Census Tract 57.

Many of the people of Census Tract 57 have been victims of eviction. For some, this will be their third eviction. They have moved to all parts of the island and finally found a place at this community. Now, they are faced with eviction again. As one resident said, "I for one don't want my grandchildren and the People's children to

go through these kind of problems and struggle in the future. So now is the time to stay and fight." In addition, if C.T. 57 is not provided with adequate housing and the people are evicted, then many other communities will be treated the same way.

In order to stop eviction in the rest of the community, the People's Movement is fighting for the Akepo and Robello Lane residents who are now being threatened with eviction. It will be hard for the people living in the neat little community along Akepo Lane to find a duplicate for the lifestyle they now enjoy. They live in small homes, pay reasonable rent, and they are centrally located within walking distance of the bus lines and other services. Some families have lived there for 30 years. The "Movement" has asked for postponement of the expansion plans and has called for an investigation into the alternative solutions of expanding upwards or across the street to Dole. They have also asked the state to provide proof, such as blueprints, master plans, as a reassurance that the lots will be used and not left vacant, as in the case of the Kukui Redevelopment District.

Many of the residents are on welfare and would be classed as low-income people. Some are on retirement pensions. The community they live in is convenient. They have schools and stores close-by. They will have a hard time finding housing because the rents of good decent housing is high, and many landlords do not accept children. There are from 50 to 60 families that are presently residing in this community. The Census Tract 57 Community wants to stay where they are. They do not want to leave their homes and friends. They are fighting to stay. If the only solution is eviction, then the people want to be relocated as an entire community.

MEMBERSHIP, LEADERSHIP AND DECISION-MAKING

Membership in the C.T. 57 People's

Movement is informal and open to all interested parties. There are no dues or qualifications for membership. The modest treasury is sustained by moneys earned from speaking engagements at the University of Hawaii. Of course, virtually all members are residents of the area, numbering roughly around 2,000 persons. The residents are of various ethnic backgrounds. Some are on welfare, others are skilled and unskilled workers, but most are not professionals.

General meetings are held whenever something important comes up. Attendance as well as participation at the meetings is voluntary and welcome. Important decisions are always made at the general meetings and are reached by consensus.

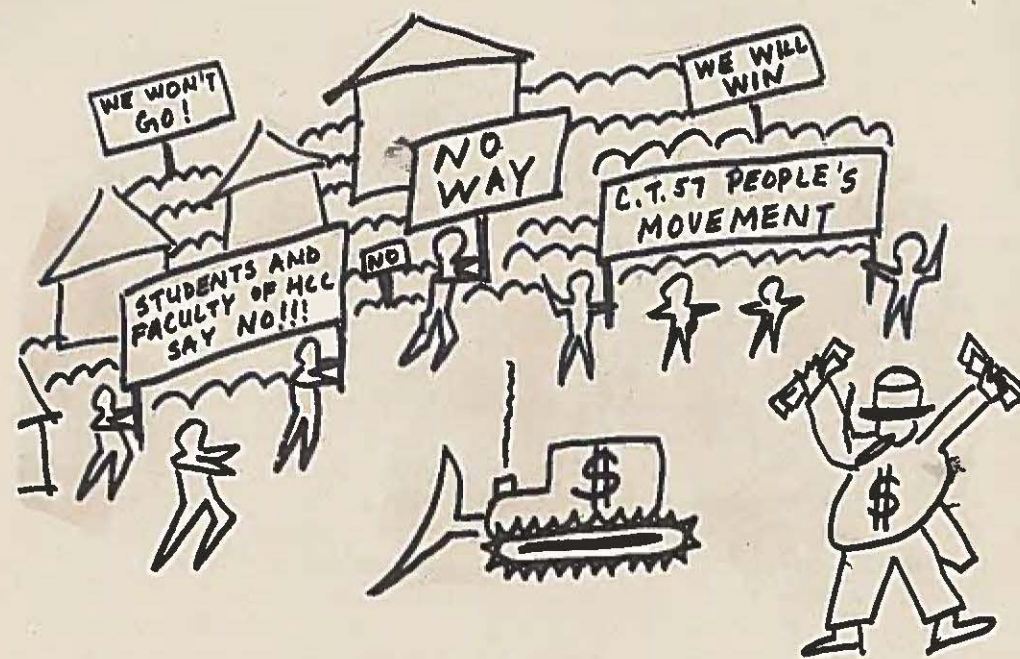
The dozen or so most active members form the steering committee, which meets weekly on Thursday nights. Participation is again on a voluntary basis and open to all. The committee does much of the leg work involved in their struggle. This has included contacting government officials, speaking on behalf of the movement, and seeing that all residents are kept informed of current happenings concerning the struggle. Although the committee provides much of the leadership emphasis is placed on the community as a whole—not on individuals.

PROGRAMS OF ACTION

Programs of the C.T. 57 People's Movement are directed at presenting their case, making their position known and gaining support for their cause.

To date, public hearings have been the major method of making their stand and confronting their opposition—DAGS, the Board of Regents, the State. Residents have also spoken to administrators, faculty and students at the Honolulu Community College. Residents have gone to speak at classes at the H.C. C. and at U.H. Manoa. They have also approached the student senate at H.C.C. to try to win their support.

Attempts have also been made to meet



with the Trade unions' leadership, but they have gotten little response. Because of the apathy of leadership, support will be sought from from the union rank and file, a few of whom are residents.

During the past Legislative session, the C.T. 57 People's Movement managed to get bill No. 2809-74 introduced in the House of Representatives by their representative, Richard Garcia. Despite petitioning of the Legislature by various residents and other interested persons, no action was taken on the bill. Recently, the People's Movement have presented their case to the top man in the State, the Lt. Governor, (acting Governor). They await his action on their behalf.

Within the community, newsletters are sometimes printed and distributed, door-to-door. On other occasions, members have gone door to door making their members aware of the issues involved and keeping

them up to date on the latest developments.

ALLIANCES

The C.T. 57 People's Movement has many ties with the various Hawaiian organizations. This is because of the similarity in eviction problems between the various organizations. Like the Ota Camp Struggle, and Old Vineyard, the people of C.T. 57 also face the same situation. They are also represented in the Legislative Coalition.

The C.T. Movement also holds alliances with some students of Honolulu Community College like the students in the Ethnic Studies program, some of who live in the community. Support from the students of H.C.C. may prove to be an effective force for the support of the C.T. 57.

OPPOSITION

In their words, the opposition is "rich businessmen, government agencies and poli-

tical big whips". Although the most immediate adversary is H.C.C. itself, the people realize that the ultimate decision maker is the State government in general and the Board of Regents in particular.

SUMMARY

When the C.T. 57 People's Movement started in November of 1972, most of the community gave its full support and came out in large numbers. Today, there have been fewer residents showing up for meetings. This can be attributed to the run around processes that are taking place within the political system and also to the fact that only a certain section of the community have received their eviction notices and other persons have not received eviction notices. The people of the community have slacked off in pressures toward H.C.C. because they are not pressured to leave yet because of the political stalemate between them and H.C.C.

The main problem they face now is one of the "political run-around." The "Big Wheels" of H.C.C. are passing the buck to one another and just waiting for the C.T. 57 People's Movement to slack-off in its assaults on them but this will never happen. The people of Census Tract 57 will never give up until they get what they want!

Another problem C.T. 57 has faced has been with the landlords of Kokea Apartments and various apartments in the Akepo Lane area, who, intentionally or unintentionally, are not supporting the Movement. They are not renting anymore rooms out to any new tenants because the landlords will get money from the state for their land anyway. By not renting anymore, they can say that the apartments are not in demand and justify eviction and demolition. This way, H.C.C. and the state have more reason to evict the remaining tenants.

So far, the C.T. 57 People's Movement has been able to get the community together and inform them about what will

be happening to their community. By their unity, they have been able to postpone the evictions of September of 1973 until this writing and also suspended the February 1974 construction of the Trades Building. They have broken the lies that poor people don't know how to organize and give themselves leadership.

They've had two public hearings which has helped gain support from outside the community and have informed other residents of the island of their struggle. Support has also been won from other community groups, members of Hawaiian organizations and various students and faculty members of Honolulu Community College.

But the fight is not over yet! There exists a stalemate which must be broken for the good of the people. Unity is still their biggest weapon and so much more can be accomplished through unity. Through the words of Virginio Demain, a young resident of Akepo Lane, "There are other places in Hawaii where similar struggles have and will take place. It is a struggle that the people will win only if we unite and stand together like a powerful fist!"

Legislative Coalition

INTRODUCTION

The Legislative Coalition is an organization of 27 low-income groups in Hawaii who have joined together to work for protecting and improving the rights and conditions of the poor in the areas of welfare, housing, health, taxation, and other issues directly affecting survival needs.

The Legislative Coalition grew out of a legislative committee of the Honolulu Community Action Program (HCAP) which began in 1971. The constituency of the committee broadened out over a three-month period to include participation from other welfare advocate groups, such as the Welfare Recipients Advisory Council in Waianae and in Kalihi which were supported by Model Cities monies. By 1972, the committee had expanded to include such a broad membership that it was no longer a simple committee of HCAP, it was much more. HCAP hired staff to provide research and educational assistance to the Coalition in its work with legislative matters affecting the poor. In the months following the session, although the legislative staff person was discontinued, the Coalition was provided the services of HCAP staff workers. At that point, the basic structure of the organization was loose, without By-Laws, but it

was an active organization, and with representatives, made up largely of the representatives of the participating low-income groups.

During the 1973 legislative session, staff for legislative research was rehired, with the position continuing through August. In the months following the session, HCAP restructured itself and changed so that its primary emphasis to area of work would be community organizing. In line with this change, the Coalition staff position was upgraded, and 10 community organizers were hired.

The increase in organizing work has resulted in the expansion of the Coalition's membership to include 27 member groups with new welfare rights groups being formed each month on Oahu.

The Legislative Coalition has more strength and potential for bringing about change now than ever before. It is a recognized force at the Legislature, the Welfare Department, the Public Housing Agency, as well as with other community groups.

PURPOSE

The 27 low-income groups have joined together to form the Legislative Coalition to work for:

1. An adequate and secure living standard
2. Good housing in a healthy environment for all people.

3. Meaningful jobs for all people.
4. Proper health care for all people, regardless of ability to pay.
5. Power to low-income people in all efforts to improve their lives and control their own destinies.

In the future, the Coalition plans to broaden their goals to include work in areas such as prisons, senior citizens and ethnic issues.

MEMBERSHIP, LEADERSHIP AND DECISION-MAKING

The following groups are working together in the Coalition: Kalihi-Palama Welfare Recipients Advisory Council, Waianae-Nanakuli Welfare Reform Committee, Waikiki Senior Citizens, Waimanalo Welfare Rights Organization, Koolauloa Welfare Rights Group, Kauai Welfare Rights Group, Aiea-Pearl City Welfare Rights Group, Maui Welfare Rights Group, Third Arm, Oahu Head Start Parent Advisory Council, Oahu Tenants Advisory Council, Kam-Kaahumanu Tenant Advisory Council, Kauai Tenant Advisory Board, Po'o Pa'akiki Youth Group, Welfare Crisis Committee, C.T. 57 People's Movement, HCAP Board of Directors, Honolulu Community Action District Council, Waianae-Nanakuli, Leahi, Kalihi-Palama, Windward and Central District Councils. Every month, another welfare group starts on Oahu and the Coalition grows stronger. Members of these organizations make up the membership of the Coalition.

Each of the groups elect two representatives to the Coalition's Planning Committee. The Planning Committee elects one Chairperson, who is presently Anna Keku-mu. Staff and research consultants sit in on the meetings but do not have a vote. The only paid staff member is the research consultant, who keeps and develops research files and oversees other Coalition work. The Coalition works regularly with Legal Aid lawyer Clayton Ikei for their

legal work.

The Coalition has no set By-Laws, however, meetings are well organized and they follow a set agenda. The Planning Committee has made it a policy to hold monthly general meetings in various locations within the communities of each of the member groups. Meetings are held for educational activities and general rap sessions. The Planning Committee relies both on these meetings and upon the ideas generated by member groups which are shared through their representatives for guidance in decisions in the various areas of involvement. There are no standing committees. Task force groups are set up to follow through on new issues.

In addition to the general meetings and the various representatives, contact with the members of the groups which make up the Coalition is maintained through a monthly newsletter, *Welfare News*, which is distributed to 10,000 welfare recipient families.

PROGRAMS OF ACTION

The Coalition has worked through the Legislature, the courts, public hearings and negotiations with department and government heads to carry out programs which would fulfill their goals. In addition, the Coalition has sponsored educational activities such as presentations to community groups, workshops and conferences, and their own meetings. The Coalition also distributes a newsletter and information packets on welfare rights.

The Legislation Coalition wrote up and distributed a booklet called, "A Call to Action—Policy Position By and For Hawaii's Poor," during the 1973 Legislative Session. In it, they stated their positions on various legislations, the rationale for their positions and the facts and statistics to back up their stand. They focused on Welfare, Housing, Taxes, Health, and No-Fault Insurance. The following outlines



THIS IS NO JOKE NOW THAT HAWAII'S UNEMPLOYMENT RATE STANDS AT 7.8%.

their positions and provides an insight to the major problems which the Coalition has identified and their suggestions for solving the problems.

Welfare:

1. Oppose flat granting of rent and utilities unless the rent ceiling is high enough to enable recipients to locate and secure decent, safe and sanitary housing.
2. That the aged, blind, and disabled be given priority for assistance by the housing location unit because their programs will be shifted to social security administration and rental allotments will be flat granted

at levels so low as to make their lives unmanageable.

3. Grant a cost of living increase of 6 per cent and an annual cost of living increase proportionate to cost of living index.
4. Oppose seeking payment from non-supportive fathers as it would subordinate the rights of welfare mothers.

Housing:

1. Establish rent control.
2. Establish a quasi-public Urban Development Corporation to increase the supply of houses.
3. Zone land for development on the

condition that at least 45 per cent of the units be set aside for low and moderate income residents.

4. Amend Act 105 to include stronger formation of land banks and selling of short-term bonds.
5. Curtail speculation in the housing market.

Taxation: Have the state tax structure conform closely to generally accepted standards of good taxation. Recommend progressive tax structure, equity in raising of taxes, "export" taxes when possible, filing, credit devise and administration of taxes should be kept as simple as possible.

Health: Extension of the pre-paid health insurance coverage to approximately 50,000 low-wage earners.

No-Fault Insurance: Provide free no-fault insurance coverage to welfare recipients.

In the courts, the Coalition filed suit, through Legal Aid, against the Hawaii Housing Authority on behalf of tenants of an HHA housing project—Admiral Cook Apartments. Their claim is that the public housing lease is illegal on a number of points, including eviction procedure. If won, the lease in all public housing projects would be invalid and would have to be re-written.

The Coalition also contested flat granting for singles and couples and the court has ruled in favor of the Coalition—Flat grant for singles and couples is illegal, and the state should not be able to go into flat grant for General Assistance families either.

A suit was filed against the Welfare Department for making the General Assistance flat grant payments so low that people cannot live decently on the grants. The law states that payments must provide a decent standard of living. The suit was filed on behalf of seven G.A. recipients.

Tenants of the member groups of the Coalition have to go to court to be heard on any grievance. The Coalition is working to initiate a grievance procedure in order to avoid lengthy court procedures. The Coalition has been engaged in an ongoing struggle with the HHA through the Oahu Tenants Advisory Council, over proposed rental increases. OTAC has successfully negotiated with HHA on behalf of fellow tenants and has effectively postponed rent increases. Two rent increases were proposed and defeated in 1973.

The Legislative Coalition has been successful in mobilizing mass turnouts for public hearings on various welfare, housing, and tax issues. In 1973, for example, the banks threatened to stop selling food stamps and distribution was turned over to the State. Through a mass turnout at a public hearing and work through the Lieutenant Governor's Office, the coalition got the banks to negotiate changes in their sales system.

The Legislative Coalition is continuing to organize new groups. It is engaged in an ongoing program of community education. Members accept many speaking engagements at gatherings of recipients and in schools. The Coalition has also participated in various conferences and workshops with other groups interested in the problems of low-income and working poor people.

OPPOSITION

The person that must be confronted depends on the scope of the issue and the government agency responsible for that issue. For some issues, it is sufficient to deal with the administrative head in charge of a particular program. In other issues, it has been necessary to deal directly with the Governor's office, the top administrator.

However, in their analysis of the welfare system, the Coalition has identified in-

dustry and business to be responsible for the present economic conditions which make it impossible for people to meet their basic needs on their own and force them to seek public assistance.

Among the major reasons cited by the Department of Social Services and Housing for the increases in welfare cases was the rise of unemployment from 3 per cent to 6 per cent and the rise in living costs, particularly rent and utilities. The increase in costs in these areas can be attributed to economic factors that have given rise to inflation. The announced policy of the Nixon Administration was to increase unemployment somewhat in order to stem inflation. As unemployment rose, the welfare rolls rose. Thus a pool of low-wage workers

became available through the "workfare" program. Recipients, for example, are required to register for the WIN Program which supposedly trains them and puts them on jobs. What actually happens is that people are placed on jobs at minimum wage levels next to people doing the same work for better wages. Only 2.9 per cent end up on a regular job at the end of "training." This system allows industry to hire welfare recipients at low wages and to thus undercut unionized workers who have bargained for decent wages and benefits.

In addition, the state appropriates over \$14 million to help business and industry. Welfare recipients are therefore competing against industry for state funds.



ALLIANCES

Alliances is what the Legislative coalition is all about. The Coalition has come about because the participating groups have decided to ally with one another in their struggle for poor people's rights. As a Coalition, these groups have also given support to other community groups who are forming. Recently, the Coalition has also supported the United Farm Workers and their boycott of non-union lettuce and grapes and wines. They have also participated with the Labor-Community Alliance in support of workers.

SUMMARY

The current problem facing the Coalition is funding. Their major source of funding is being threatened as the Office of Economic Opportunity is being phased out and the Community Action Programs monies run out. Other sources of funds must be found. They have a small treasury derived from the sale of membership cards to recipients for 50 cents and friends for one dollar, from speaking honoraria and other donations. This is not sufficient to fund a core staff, supplies, and transportation. The members of the organization have made significant victories by their massive turnouts at public hearings and show of unity against the government agencies, through court actions, negotiations with state departments, through legislation and many confrontation with the acting Governor Ariyoshi. Recently, Ariyoshi postponed implementation of full flat grant after 40 welfare recipients met with him and told him their personal stories of hardship.

In the 1973 Legislative Session, 17.5 million dollars were restored to the Welfare budget, anti-welfare issues were stopped and welfare recipients were granted free

coverage under the State's new no-fault auto insurance bill.

In the 1974 Legislative Session, 50,000 workers not previously covered will be provided pre-paid medical insurance, the free no-fault insurance coverage was maintained, and other benefits in housing and welfare granted. The Coalition will probably raise issues that were not acted on in the following Legislative session.

The Legislative Coalition has a great potential for bringing about greater changes for the benefit of Hawaii's poor people. They have been successful in organizing new groups on Oahu and broadening their base of support. This has strengthened the position from which they operate. They are now in a stronger position to confront the economic forces that have controlled poor people and placed them in the situation that they live in.

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Conclusions

Hawaiians have become involved in organizing because they are dissatisfied with the political, economic and social structure in Hawaii. Major national and local corporations increase their profits while the majority of people find it difficult to just meet basic needs, such as decent housing, at reasonable cost and employment. The major corporations also control government. Rather than serving the people's interests, government serves business interests.

This collusion was apparent in the passage of the Hawaiian Homes Act where second class and third class agricultural lands were leased to Hawaiians for homesteading while the first class agricultural lands were saved for leasing to the sugar plantations and big ranches. In recent years, Hawaiian Homes land have been leased to businesses and industries and by ranchers who are unqualified for Homestead land, while hundreds of qualified Hawaiians have been on the waiting list—some for 20 years or more.

This collusion of business and government is also apparent in the upzoning of land and the planning of roads and other improvements. (Upzoning means giving a zoning that will enable the land to produce more profit.) When land is rezoned in this manner, it is zoned for industrial or resort development, raising the taxes and land value. Big developers who plan to build on

that land benefit from such zoning, while the small landowner who only wants a place to live and has no plans for development, ends up paying higher taxes. Road, sewage and utility improvements which are necessary for development are paid for in part by government and in part by landowners. Developers usually pass the costs on to the home-buyer, so that it is actually the small landowner and leaseholder that pay the cost for improvements. In addition, when such improvements are constructed, the government plans it the way they want, ignoring the "little guy's" interests. So, roads are built through several small kuleanas or sewage treatment plants are planned over Hawaiian ancestral gravesites.

Government supports industry in other ways. It directly supports the tourist industry through allocations to the Hawaii Visitors Bureau, the public relations agency for tourism. In addition, government offers special tax breaks to investors in new industries and new hotels. The "little man" receives no breaks.

Government has initiated programs such as HCAP, Model Cities and Legal Aid. These programs however deal only with curing the symptoms of the problem rather than dealing with the problem itself. Such programs serve to pacify the people rather than give them any real pow-

In general, the government has been more a part of the problem than a part of the solution.

Through their organizations, Hawaiians are striving for one major goal—to have greater self-determination in the decisions affecting their lives. Part of this goal includes democracy in the government process.

There are two directions that the organizations have taken:

First, they have worked with government, utilizing every channel open to them—lobbying, testifying at public hearings, petitioning and participating in electoral politics. Using these means, the organizations discussed in the pamphlet have affected certain key changes such as amending the Adverse Possession Law; affecting the appointment of three of their representatives to the Hawaiian Homes Commission and they have won a partial victory in defeating the Flat Grant welfare system.

Secondly, they have gone out to the people in their communities and initiated a grass roots movement among the people. It's not necessary that citizens wait every two or four years to cast their vote in order to participate in government. The people in the communities are becoming involved in ongoing programs such as food co-ops, building homes, and advising welfare recipients of their rights.

These organizations are relatively young. For many, the Kalama Valley struggle and Takabuki issue were catalysts in their formation. Good organizing does not come naturally nor is it easy. It comes from experience and practice, from hard work and struggle. There are lessons which can be learned from the struggles of organizing among Hawaiians. First, membership is key to successful organizing. The greater the involvement of the membership in decision making and programs, the greater the success of the organization.

Second, education is an important tool

for organizing. A problem that has faced each organization is that of educating the people on the issues. How to inform the people of the problems, and how to involve membership and to arm them with information which is not otherwise available. Keeping the people informed is important to having them continue to give support to the group, and enables all membership to participate in enlightened decision making.

Third, resources are important in maintaining the organization, in getting the information out to more people and in establishing better communications with membership. The organizations who have a more reliable and steady source of income have been able to operate more consistently. Certainly, the opposition has a great many resources at hand to support its purposes.

Fourth, issues and goals and objectives should be realistically and clearly defined. People need to have concrete goals and realistic objectives which are based on their actual needs in order to want to get involved and give their support. This will involve a more clear definition of what the constituency of each organization is, and involving that constituency in the definition and implementation of goals. Clearly defining the opposition is very important. Finally, alliances with other groups that share common goals and common enemies must be made. The greater the size of the collective force, the greater the influence and power and the ability to bring about change.

Fifth, organizing as a race is probably the first step toward joining with others who are victims of the same kinds of problems. The Hawaiian organizations have organized along ethnic lines. Legislative coalition and C.T. 57 People's Movement are examples of organizations which have organized around common rather than race or culture oriented issues; e.g. housing is

one of a common issue to people in Hawaii than say, Hawaiian Homes. The issues facing Hawaiians are essentially the same as those facing people of many other races. In addition, not all Hawaiians are confronted with problems, only a certain class of Hawaiians are. The work of the Hawaiian organizations has been aimed at raising the conditions of the Hawaiians. In working towards that end, it becomes evident that

1. these problems do not only affect Hawaiians, and therefore broader bases and

2. there are concerns which are common to all people of Hawaii who are being oppressed. This means that, indeed, there is a basis for unity of different races;

3. the more people there are working together, the more can be accomplished. In unity, there is strength.

If there is any one solid lesson that we have learned from all organizing experience it can be summed up by that phrase. Only together can we win. Imua!



List of Illustrations

- PAGE 2 – Meeting of Census Tract 57 People's Movement
- PAGE 6 – Drawing of Ancient Hawaiian Life
- PAGE 11 – Hoe Hana Women During Sugar Harvest
- PAGE 13 – Tourist Couple in Front of Hawaiian Wax Museum
- PAGE 15 – Hawaiian Couple at the Turn of the Century
- PAGE 20 – Joe Tassil, Organizer, Hawaiians, Kona Chapter
- PAGE 24 – Young Hawaiians at a Meeting
- PAGE 29 – Reverend Abraham Akaka, Founder of the Congress of Hawaiian People
- PAGE 34 – Annexation Day Scene
- PAGE 38 – Queen Liliuokalani, Monarch 1891-1893
- PAGE 42 – Fred Cachola, Founding Member, Homerule Movement
- PAGE 49 – Tutu speaking at Fishermen's Rally to Oppose the State's Kupuku Plan which would restrict fishing rights
- PAGE 51 – Kahaluu Fishermen Rally to Oppose the State's Kupuku Plan
- PAGE 57 – Map of Census Tract 57
- PAGE 60 – Cartoon from leaflet of C.T. 57 People's Movement
- PAGE 65 – Cartoon from a Welfare Rights Newsletter
- PAGE 67 – (from left to right): Lena Reverie Chairperson Legislative Coalition; Myron Thompson, former head of Dept. of Social Services & Housing, presently Bishop Estate Trustee; Jackie Mahi Erickson, member A.L.O.H.A. and Homerule.
- PAGE 71 – Spirit of Struggle: Young Boys from C.T. 57 People's Movement
- COVER – Woman Speaking at First Public Rally for The Hawaiians Held at the Waikiki Shell, September 18, 1970